

VOTING BEHAVIOR PATTERNS OF FLORIDA STATE LEGISLATORS
ON SELECTED HIGHER EDUCATION ISSUES

BY

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to

Joyce

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Warm appreciation is extended to
Doctors Kimbrough, Nunnery, Smith, Wattenbarger and White.

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Higher Education issues considered during the 1976-1979 regular legislative sessions were reviewed to develop a Support for Higher Education Scale. The Support Scale formed the basis for analyzing individual legislators' and group voting behavior. Six bills in the 1979 legislative session met selection criteria for establishing the scale. Scale scores were assigned to legislators for each "pro" higher education vote cast. Senators' and Representatives' mean scale scores were compared against a battery of 28 independent variables composed of personal and constituency legislator characteristics and party indices. Statistical treatment of the data included crosstabulations, correlations, cluster bloc, ANOVA, and regression analysis, each of which was employed to explain Senators' and Representatives' voting positions on the higher education issues included in the scale.

Republicans displayed greater party cohesion in both houses than their Democrat counterparts. The range of party cohesion scores for each party was extremely broad, or 4-100, indicating there were strong

differences between party members within each chamber. The two parties' voting behavior in both houses were similar when the bills were considered as a unit, although the degree of similarity varied with each individual bill included in the support scale.

Seven voting blocs were identified in the Senate and 31 in the House. The Senate blocs contained six to seven members and 53% of the Senate body was included in the combined blocs. The Senate voting blocs were defined by nine legislator characteristics. The House voting blocs contained 6 to 13 members and 56% of the total house membership was included in the combined voting clusters. The House blocs were defined by 12 different legislator characteristics.

Intercorrelations between the bills included in the Support for Higher Education Scale ranged from low (.09) to moderate (.65) for the Senate and similarly for the House (low - .03 to a high of .71). For both houses, 7 of the 15 relationships were significant at the .05 level. Relationships between committee and floor votes were moderate (.50) to high (1.00).

Relationships between the independent variables (consisting of 17 personal, 8 constituency, and 3 party indices) and dependent variable (Scale Scores) were low (.01) to moderate (.59). Almost all of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables were significant at the .05 or .01 levels. Initial and reduced regression analyses were completed on the data. Approximately 91% of the Senators' and 55% of the Representatives' voting behavior was accounted for based on the variables included in the model. These figures are high, particularly for the Senate.

Party Loyalty, Religion and Urban/Rural variables for the Senate and Party Loyalty, District Location and Education Experience for the House were the principal determinants of the legislators' voting behavior on the six bills included in the Support Scale. Party Loyalty was by far the most significant variable identified; in general, the variable accounted for 34.6% of the Senators' and 27.8% of the Representatives' variance in their voting behavior. There was little overlap in terms of the variables included in the Senate and House models used to explain the legislators' voting patterns. Data from the analysis were derived to facilitate prediction of legislators' future voting records.

The study concluded with a profile drawn for the type of Senator and Representative who would most likely support Higher Education legislation.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Beginning with colonial attempts at early government, state legislatures have consistently assumed a dominant position in the shaping of public policy among the states. Fearful of abuse from a powerful executive, framers of state constitutions debated the need for establishing a strong legislative branch (Bessette, 1977, pp. 198, 201-202). The concern associated with being subjected to governance by a dominant executive was often mitigated by adopting a constitution which assigned significant responsibilities to the legislature. Whether initially assigned or acquired with the passage of time, education has long been a major concern of state legislatures. Legislators perform many roles, not the least of which is the control over the allocation of goods and services. Public institutions of higher education must contend with other social forces for their share of these allocations. Within this context educators and their supporters are thrust into the political process. Easton (1965) viewed the political process in terms of a system involving interactions between a myriad of individuals, many of whom are drawn together by mutual interests and needs. Educators are part of this political system and they must interact with state legislators to enhance the welfare of their institutions and clientele.

Interacting professionally with state legislators to affect positive change requires knowledge of the legislative process, its actors, the roles they play, and their prior legislative behavior which serves as a formal indicator of their political orientations toward public issues. Additionally, affecting change requires that educators become organized and actively involved in the system. Master, Salisbury and Eliot (1964, p. 4), Kimbrough (1967, p. 129), and Keefe and Ogul (1968, pp. 508-510) have stressed the need for educators to become politically knowledgeable and actively organized to improve the state of education. Concerning the influence organized citizenry could have on legislators, Keefe and Ogul were quoted as saying:

The American people are not without a choice concerning their political system and the role legislatures are to play. Whether any significant portion of the public ever looks beyond the ways in which legislatures function to the ways in which they might function is doubtful at the least . . . public sensitivity and interest sharpen the cutting edge of change; where these are lacking, change comes hard or not at all. (p. 508)

Though the challenge of improving the quality of interactions with state legislators has been cited, conflicting opinions have been recorded concerning educators' present effectiveness in interacting with legislators to enhance the posture of education. Halperin (1974, pp. 189-190) commented that the perceptions educators and legislators have of each other are mutually irreverent. Halperin specifically noted that legislators regarded educators as arrogant and sanctimonious, that they provided little useful information, could not think or communicate clearly, and did not understand the political process in which education functioned. Halperin continued by indicating educators competed against rather than supported their colleagues in related education fields, and although

educators consistently wanted money and praise, they gave lip service to accountability.

On the other hand, Halperin stated that educators regarded legislators as narrow visioned individuals who did not think carefully, politicized everything, were poorly informed on education issues, lacked an institutional memory, and tended to throw their weight around to humiliate educators. He suggested that educators and legislators should work together more closely to resolve these differences if educational policies were to be improved in the future.

Studies have been conducted to determine which sources of information legislators consider credible and useful. Bedore (1969) found that legislators viewed state agency and other statewide governmental personnel as credible information sources. Saling (1970) rank ordered both education and non-education groups from which Washington state legislators obtained advice on education legislation. He reported that educator groups ranked among the top 5 of 18 information sources on legislator-initiated contracts, source-initiated contacts, and in information reliability.

Saling's favorable reports concerning educator-legislator interactions have not been supported by later studies. Kovenock (1973) found that most interactions in the legislative process involved communications between legislators, not with outside sources. Harrington (1977) surveyed 62 legislators and reported that with the exception of certain persons within the state department of education and the state teacher's association, education groups did not serve as important information sources, nor did they influence educational policy at a discernible level.

Lepchenske (1977, pp. 7-11) urged educators who worked in higher education to improve their communications with legislators. He ranked groups perceived by legislators as having an influence on their policy decisions; among the 47 possible sources, education related groups ranked eleventh. Also, the amount of influence perceived by each legislator was greatly determined by the group's size. Lepchenske reported legislators had received a sufficient amount of materials from educators, but the literature was of little utility or influence. As evidence to this fact, one lawmaker noted the literature he received from educators was too bulky, cumbersome, and required too much effort to organize. The materials were frequently presented with the attitude that the content should not be questioned.

In addition to the question of credible legislative interaction sources, Peterson (1971) stated that legislators and educators do not agree on what is important in education. Peterson compared educator-legislator opinions on priority issues facing education. He reported there was greater agreement on education issues among the legislators than educators. Additionally, legislators felt aid to education, including local, state, and federal, was adequate while educators firmly disagreed. There was also strong disagreement between the two groups on six other issue areas.

Commenting on the impact of the legislative process on university life, Aronofsky (1976) indicated educators and legislators appeared to be advocating competing, cross-purposes in their efforts to provide education for the public. Scott (1977) provided another analysis of educator-legislator interactions by interviewing 160 state legislators

and 90 members of state agencies in Florida who were directly involved in the administration of higher education programs. Scott reported the following: Legislator opinions on issues involving higher education were independent of their perceptions toward other levels of education; a trend of unfavorable perceptions by legislators toward higher education officials was identified; however, the impressions had improved over the two years immediately preceding this study; legislators held a higher opinion of education than educators had expected; legislators generally held an unfavorable opinion of the information they received from educators and with their insincerity in responding to legislative directions. Scott concluded by stating that legislators felt face-to-face exchanges with them proved to be the most important method of influencing their decision making.

Observers of legislative behavior have cited the differences of opinions which exist between educational constituents and state legislative members. To be aware of the importance of understanding and communicating with legislators for the purpose of influencing the adoption of programs which may affect their institutions' interests is one thing; to complement this awareness with effective action is another. To this day, there remains a continuing need to improve the education community's knowledge of legislators' behavior. Understanding the positions legislators take on important issues has remained an important concern of interest groups affected by legislative policy outputs. Although legislators' policy positions are a matter of public record in the form of roll call votes, educators, particularly in Florida, have made little effort to utilize the output data, and thus have perpetuated their lack of awareness of legislator behavior as it impacts on their interests.

The Problem

Statement of the Problem

The problem in this study was to assess the voting behavior patterns of members of the Florida House of Representatives and Senate on selected higher education issues recorded during the 1976-1979 regular legislative sessions. More specifically, questions to be answered through the analysis of legislators' voting records on the selected bills include:

1. Are there differences in support for higher education between the two political parties? Between legislators with different personal and constituency characteristics?
2. How cohesive are the two parties in their voting behavior on higher education issues?
3. How does the legislators' voting behavior on higher education issues relate to intra and inter-group differences?
4. What is the relationship between floor and committee voting behavior on the same selected legislation?
5. Is it possible to identify groups of legislators within each house which regularly vote together? If so, how might these groups be characterized?
6. How much variance in legislative voting behavior can be explained by the legislators' personal, constituency and group characteristics?
7. Can a profile of the type of legislator who would be most supportive of higher education be drawn from the roll call data?

Delimitations and Limitations

Delimitations and limitations for this study included the following:

1. This study was confined to data collected on roll call votes recorded in the Florida House and Senate Journals for the period indicated, or regular sessions for 1976-1979, assuming each met stated selection criteria. Legislator personal and constituency data were obtained from other public information sources, each of which is identified in the text of the study.

These data sources included Florida Abstracts, Clerk's Manuals, Legislative Bill History, and materials recorded from the Secretary of State's Office.

2. Analysis of legislators' behavior was limited to voting positions taken on roll call issues included in the study.
3. The reliability of the roll call data will be limited to the degree the legislators' voting patterns accurately reflect their consistent policy positions on higher education bills.
4. The study was limited to the extent that the legislators' Support for Higher Education Scale Scores were derived from roll calls with a common subject (Higher Education). Additionally, the classifications assigned to each bill by the publishers of the legislative voting journals were accepted as accurate labels for higher education related issues.

Justification for the Study

This study was designed to contribute to educators' understanding of Florida legislator policy stands on higher education issues expressed through their roll call votes. Such an awareness will enhance educators' effectiveness in interacting with the legislative members and ultimately help improve the impact they might have on legislators as they cast their votes on higher education bills. The analysis seeks to contribute to the traditional approaches higher education officials have utilized in the past to assess legislative action, most of which have been limited to determining what legislation in their field is being considered, and after the voting has taken place, the disposition of the results. Though efforts are frequently made to influence legislators concerning their voting on education measures, in most cases the legislative members are approached with little understanding regarding how they react to constituency, how they vote in relation to their party, or how consistently they vote across issues. The identification

of individual or groups of legislators from whom education has received various levels of voting support should prove to be valuable information.

The study should contribute significantly to the body of knowledge on legislative voting behavior as it relates to legislators in the Florida House and Senate. Though numerous studies on voting behavior have been conducted in other states, little has been done in this area in Florida. In general, most of the studies have been notably limited in scope, both in terms of content and statistical analysis. Many of the prior studies have dealt exclusively with the federal level, or if completed on the state level, the unit of analysis has usually been a single house.

Definition of Terms

Dependent Variable

Support for Higher Education. A vote cast by a legislator which advanced the cause of higher education. The dependent variable is expressed in terms of a Support for Higher Education Scale Score, a figure assigned to legislators denoting the number of times each had cast a vote on a selected series of roll calls which advanced the cause of higher education. The Scale Score in the present study ranges from 0 to 6; a score of "0" indicates a legislator voted against higher education on all of the six bills, while a score of "6" means the legislator supported higher education on all of the issues.

Legislator Background Characteristics

Age (1) Less than 30 years, (2) 30-45, (3) 46-60, (4) 61 and over.

Children (1) None, (2) 1-2, (3) 3-4, (4) 5 or more.

Educational Experience. Indication legislator has had prior educational experience, including teaching, administration, or trusteeship. (1) Yes, (2) No.

Educated in Florida. Indication of whether the legislator had received an education in Florida, either elementary, secondary, or college. (1) Yes, (2) No.

Education Level. (1) High school, (2) Some college, (3) College graduate, (4) Graduate degree, (5) Doctorate/professional degree.

Leadership Position. Legislator chairs or co-chairs a committee or subcommittee, Senate President, House Speaker, Whip. (1) Yes, (2) No.

Marital Status. (1) Single, (2) Married, (3) Other.

Military Experience. Legislator is a veteran. (1) Yes, (2) No.

Net Worth. Legislators' net worth, expressed in terms of \$10,000; figures provided by the Secretary of State's Office.

Occupation. (1) Law, (2) Business, (3) Other.

Party Affiliation. (1) Democrat, (2) Republican, (3) Independent.

Primary Public Office Experience Prior to Election. (1) None, (2) Local, (3) State, (4) Federal.

Professional Membership Affiliations Currently Held. (1) None, (2) 1-3, (3) 4-6, (4) 7 or more.

Race. (1) Caucasian, (2) Black, (3) Other.

Religion. (1) Protestant, (2) Catholic, (3) Jewish, (4) Other.

Sex. (1) Male, (2) Female.

Term of Service. Indication of the number of terms a legislator has served. (1) 0-1, (2) 2-3, (3) 4-5, (4) 6 or more.

Legislator Constituency Characteristics

District Classification. Based on the percentage of votes cast for a given party during the legislator's election. (1) Solid Democrat, 75% or more, (2) Democrat, 51-74%, (3) Republican, 51-54%, (4) Solid Republican, 75% or more, (5) Split vote, no majority, 50%.

District Competitiveness. Percentage of total vote cast in the legislator's general election less the percentage of the total vote received by his/her challenger(s). If the legislator was not challenged in the election in the last three general elections, the assessment is 100%-0, or 100. The lower the District Competitiveness score, the greater the competition in the district.

District Location. (1) South, (2) Central, (3) Northeast, (4) Northwest. Reference to district location classification is provided in Appendix A.

Registered Support for Legislator. Number of individuals in legislator's district registered to vote who share the legislator's party affiliation divided by the total number of registered voters in the district, expressed in percent.

Registered Voters in Legislator's District. Total registered voters in the legislator's district, expressed in 10,000's.

State Public Colleges in Legislator's District. (1) None, (2) Community college only, (3) University only, (4) Community college and University.

Urban/Rural Classification of Legislator's District. Majority of the legislator's district must be either urban or rural. (1) Urban, majority of the residents reside in urban areas or places of 2,500

inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, villages, or towns.

(2) Rural, majority of residents do not live in urban areas. Averages were computed where a district included part of, or more than one county. Figures were obtained from the 1970 Census and a 1978 update from the University of Florida's Population Division, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Florida Estimates of Populations, July 1978, pp. 34-35.

Voter Participation. The number of individuals who voted in the legislator's general election divided by the total number of registered voters in the legislator's district, expressed in percent. Figures were obtained from the Division of Elections, Secretary of States's Office and County Election Supervisors.

Supplemental Definitions

Cluster Blocs. Groups of Senators and Representatives who vote together; that is, with members of their respective house, on a series of bills.

Index of Party Cohesion. Denotes intra-party unity in voting on an issue or series of issues; range of scores, 0-100.

Index of Party Likeness. Denotes the similarity in group support for a given voting issue, in this case, Support for Higher Education; range of scores, 0-100.

Index of Party Loyalty. Denotes the ratio of the number of times legislators vote with their party majority; range of scores, 0-100.

Index of Agreement. Frequency with which one legislator votes with other legislators of the same house on a series of bills, expressed in terms of percent. The index is used in the analysis of cluster blocs.

Methodology

Population Sample

The population sample includes the 40 state Senators and Representatives (120) who served in the Florida Legislature during the regular sessions included in the study. The principal basis of data collection and analysis was on the 1979 regular legislative session.

Data Collection

Data for the study were collected from a number of sources, including: Florida House and Senate Journals, Bill History booklets, Florida Abstracts, Clerk's Manuals, Joint Legislative Management Committee reports, Legislative Information Division, Tabulation of Official Votes, a Division of Elections/Department of State, County Supervisors' Election data, "The Florida Senate," an introduction to the Senate, "Welcome to Your House of Representatives" also an introductory booklet, 1970 Census data, principally contained in Profiles of Florida School Districts. New data were created in the form of indices, previously defined.

Data Treatment and Analysis

Process of Selecting Bills for the Study. Most of the findings generated in the present study were derived from analyses conducted on the Support for Higher Education Scale Scores. The process utilized to select the higher education bills from which scale scores were constructed consisted of the following steps:

1. Reviewed all higher education bills which were:
 - a. Considered by the legislature during the 1976-1979 regular legislative sessions.

- b. Classified under higher education categories listed in the Bill History report, an index to legislation. These headings in the index included Community Colleges, State Universities, Board of Regents, and other categories which were related to higher education; i.e., travel, collective bargaining, employment.
 - c. Passed by both chambers with at least an 85-15% split in the vote in one of the houses. The requirement that there be an 85-15 vote split is arbitrary, but it does ensure a measure of controversy existed on the issue. The concept is supported by Parsons (1962), who likewise added bills with lengthy debate, continual referral to committees for discussion, and the addition of numerous amendments as indicators of controversy.
2. Deleted bills from further consideration which:
 - a. Did not meet the selection criteria in item 1 above.
 - b. Were neutral with respect to the impact passage or non-passage would have on the status and operation of higher education in the state.
 - c. Were not clearly defined or distinctively educational issues.
 3. A legislative session, and hence bills considered within that session, was excluded from the study if it contained less than five bills which met the selection criteria. This determination precluded the development of a Support for Higher Education Scale with a limited number of items per scale score.

Development of the Support for Higher Education Scale and Related Legislator Scale Scores. The following steps were implemented to develop the Support for Higher Education Scale from which individual legislator scale scores were assigned:

1. Only those bills which met the selection criteria were included in the scale. Scales would only be constructed for legislative sessions in which a minimum of five bills met the stated selection criteria.

2. Each "yea" and "nay" vote on a qualifying bill was classified in terms of its support-non-support for higher education based on a determination of which voting stance taken by a legislator would enhance the status of higher education in Florida. This process of classifying each bill as supportive or non-supportive of higher education was verified through the assistance of a current president of one of Florida's community colleges and a member of the Council of President's Legislative Task Force, a group of distinguished Florida education leaders who regularly monitor and assess the State's higher education legislation.
3. The size of the scale in terms of the amount of items upon which it was developed was based on the number of bills within each session which met the selection criteria.
4. Each legislator was assigned a Support for Higher Education Scale Score based on the number of positive (support) votes he/she cast on the series of bills which formed the scale. The following example will help clarify the scale construction and score assignment procedure: Hypothetically, five higher education bills have been found within a single legislative session which meet the stated criteria. A "yea" vote on four of the bills results in a positive, strengthening impact on the standing of higher education as it is to be implemented in the state should the bills pass the legislature. On the fifth bill, it has been determined that passage of the bill would reduce or impede the operation of higher education;

hence, a vote against the bill ("nay") would have the effect of supporting higher education. Since there are five bills in this situation, the scale would consist of five items. As each legislator casts his/her vote on the five bills within the scale, a number of support points can be assigned to the legislator based on the number of times he or she voted "pro higher education." The scale would range from 0-5, with "0" indicating the legislator voted against higher education on all of the five issues; while a scale score of "5" would indicate the legislator voted "pro higher education (total support) on all five bills. Scale Scores would be assigned on a sliding scale of 0-1-2-3-4-5.

The scale score identified for each legislator was converted into a percentile score to facilitate comparisons and analyses among and between the individual legislators and groups of legislators. Simply stated, a Support for Higher Education Scale Score of "3" for Senator X on the scale of five bills would be converted into 60, or the percentage of times the legislator supported higher education through formal voting on the issues. The scale scores thus represent the operational definition of the dependent variable--Support for Higher Education.

Analyses Conducted on the Data. Scales and indices represent the principal measurement instruments employed in the study. The primary dependent variable in the assessment of the legislators' voting behavior was Support for Higher Education, previously defined in terms of scale scores. Secondary dependent variables, or index scores, were also developed for analysis of the data. These variables included Party Cohesion,

Loyalty, and Likeness. The Party Loyalty Index was constructed by computing a ratio of support to opposition; that is, a ratio of the number of times legislators voted with their party majority.

The Party Cohesion Index, a measure of intra-group unity in voting, was developed by converting yea and nay votes to percentages of the total voting membership and then taking the absolute difference between the two percentages. The Index of Likeness, a measure of inter-group similarities, was calculated by determining the percentage of affirmative votes for each party, taking the difference between the two party's affirmative vote, and subtracting that figure from 100.

Once these individual index scores for each roll call were obtained, mean index scores for each session were used to explain the differences in group support for higher education. In addition to serving as dependent variables in the analysis of the data, the indices were also employed as independent variables.

The relationship between the dependent variable (Support for Higher Education) and the independent variables (party indices, personal and constituency legislator characteristics) were assessed to respond to the questions identified in the problem statement. Specifically, the seven issues outlined in the problem statement were assessed through the application of cross tabulations, simple and multiple correlations, partial and stepwise regression, comparisons of group index scores, and cluster bloc analysis.

Party index scores and the assignment of Index of Agreement scores to a matrix for the cluster bloc analysis were completed manually. With the exception of the initial computation phase of cluster bloc analysis

which was processed by a variation of Anderson's et al. fortran program (1966), all data treatment was completed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programs. Most of the questions listed in the problem statement, including questions 1-4, were answered through the application of correlations and chi square tests of significance. Question number five was answered through the application of cluster bloc analysis. Question number six, which involved identifying and explaining the variance in legislators' voting behavior based on the relationship of the independent variables to the dependent variable, was answered through stepwise multiple regression. Finally, the seventh question in the problem statement was answered by identifying the highest mean scores for each of the independent variables, thereby permitting one to draw a profile of the type of legislator within each house who would be most supportive of higher education.

Organization of the Study by Chapters

Chapter I contains an introduction, statement of the problem, definition of terms, and methodology. A review of the literature is presented in Chapter II. Chapter III contains a presentation and analysis of the data. The findings, summary and recommendations are presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature concerning legislative voting behavior on higher education issues is organized as follows: The Nature of Voting Analysis, Quantitative Methods of Analyzing Roll Call Votes, Analysis, and Determinants of Legislative Voting Behavior. It is noted that most legislative voting analyses have been conducted on the national level and not on the state legislative level. Additionally, a majority of the studies on legislative behavior have dealt with issues outside of education.

The Nature of Voting Analysis

The formal study of roll call votes dates to 1901 (Anderson, Watts, & Allen, 1966, p. 4). Walhke, in his introduction to Patterson, Hedlung, and Boynton's Representatives and Represented (1975), pointed out that quantitative analysis of politics shifted from an "institutional approach" to the process-oriented and behavioral studies of the political system.

Truman (1959) made the following statement concerning the nature of roll calls:

Like statistics on elections, they represent discrete acts, the fact of whose occurrence is not subject to dispute. They do not depend for their validity as data upon verbal reports of action or upon the impressions of fallible observers. (p. 12)

Through the analysis of roll call data, researchers of political decision making have had the advantage of working with an information source which can be used to operationally define political behavior as well as being treated by a variety of statistical approaches. With the advent of open governmental records, roll call data have become readily accessible to both the serious student of legislative behavior and to publicly and privately organized groups. Roll call analysis has been applied for the purposes of measuring and describing the differences in the voting behavior of individual and groups of legislators on a variety of public issues.

The analysis of roll call votes has not been exclusively applied at the legislative level of the political system. Voting behavior of the justices of the Supreme Court have been analyzed by Schubert (1959). Other roll call studies have been conducted on voting processes within the United Nations (Lijphart, 1963, p. 902) and with teacher associations (Darby, 1970).

Quantitative Methods of Analyzing Roll Call Votes

Quantitative applications to the analysis of roll call voting behavior range from simple frequency counts of votes cast to more complex statistical analyses, including factor and regression analysis. High speed computers have become of great value to those undertaking a statistical analysis of roll call data.

Rice's Quantitative Methods in Politics (1928) provided the first comprehensive descriptions of applications of roll call studies. These early approaches were applied and supplemented with improved methodologies by MacRae (1958) and Truman (1959). Both MacRae and Truman have

applied Guttman scaling techniques which have contributed significantly to the literature on legislative roll call analysis. Beyle (1931) was a pioneer in the identification of empirically defined groups or blocs of individual legislators who have regularly voted together on legislation.

Harris (1948, p. 583) and Grumm (1963, p. 336) have provided examples of how one might determine underlying dimensions, or factors, among a larger set of variables expressed as roll call votes. Jackson (1971, p. 451) presented an example of the application of multiple regression analysis of roll call voting. Studies like those conducted by Grumm and Jackson required the use of computers. The study of voting behavior was enhanced during the 1960's with several research efforts which required computer applications to appropriately handle the volume of votes included in roll call studies. Janda (1965) improved the development of voting behavior analysis by publishing a text on data processing applications for political science research; Cherryholmes and Shapiro (1969), Shapiro (1966), Lane (1968), and Martin (1971) have added additional dimensions to the analysis of roll call data with computers. Computer package programs have made roll call analysis a much more manageable task (Nie et al., 1975).

Analysis of Party Voting

Keefe (1954, pp. 450-453, 463) studied roll call votes to measure the impact of "party vote" on the Pennsylvania legislature. Party vote was operationally defined to mean at least 80% of one party voted opposite 80% or more of the alternate party. By applying the party vote

standard to all roll calls, Keefe was able to identify those issues which were a matter of serious contention between the two parties; for example, Keefe found significant party opposition on labor, government, and public policy issues. Most of the decisions were unanimous: 81% in the senate, 69% in the house. Keefe concluded by stating that the parties were among the strongest interest groups working on the legislature and that at least one-fourth of the roll calls were concerned with advancing the interests of the party.

Jewell (1955, pp. 773-775) studies the roll calls of eight two-party state legislatures. The principal objective of his study was to determine the impact of party voting on these legislatures. He computed indices of cohesion scores for the parties on all roll calls and found a high level of party unity, particularly among the democrats. Party voting, defined as a cohesion score of 80 or higher for both parties, was higher in the urban states. Additionally, the degree of party cohesion varied for each party from issue to issue.

Crane (1960, p. 247) found that cohesion among party members was more easily obtained on issues in which legislators were least concerned. To Crane, much of the impact the party had on the legislature depended on the issue being decided on the floor. It was therefore necessary for one to assess the specific nature of the issue prior to concluding that party accounted for a large measure of the impact on the vote. The position on this latter point was not shared by Turner and Schneier (1970), who viewed party as the dominant pressure influencing legislative voting.

Patterson (1962, pp. 197-199) studied roll call voting in the Oklahoma House, a one-party legislature. He developed scales to identify the underlying dimensions within the recorded votes. Patterson concluded from his analysis that in one-party legislatures where party is not a reference group, legislators are influenced by different pressures. The legislators responded differently to different issue scales; specifically, Patterson reported that responses to the government and school scales were more closely related to the socio-economic status of the districts, while issues concerning public morals were more related to rural-urban characteristics of the districts.

Shannon (1966) applied Guttman scaling techniques to roll calls to study the differences between Democrats and Republicans on their voting behavior in the United States Congress between the years 1959-1962. He found parties voted significantly different on a number of issues, particularly on bills concerning domestic policy. It was also noted that party coalitions developed as an important dimension in voting patterns; party loyalty for northern republicans and southern democrats was determined to be considerably low, however.

MacRae (1956, p. 558) examined roll calls in the Massachusetts House of Representatives to ascertain the differences between legislators who occupied leadership positions and regular rank-and-file members within each party. Based on their voting records and the application of Guttman scaling techniques, the legislators were placed on party and liberal-conservative continua. MacRae concluded republican party leaders were more concerned with political power, or ideological goals than party loyalty. Conversely, the democratic party leaders were more concerned with party loyalty.

Chaples (1969) completed an analysis of the voting behavior of United States Senators on four different issues during the period 1953 to 1964. This longitudinal study involved the identification of voting blocs through the application of factor analysis to the data. Chaples drew several conclusions from his analysis of the voting patterns, including the following: the Republican Party was found to be conservative on their voting behavior, while the Democrats were more progressive; certain issues proved to be more divisive to one party than the other; stability of voting blocs were affected by a variety of factors; party was by far the dominant factor; there were significant intra-party differences exhibited in the voting behavior of the parties; and finally, the degree to which voting blocs were formed in each party varied with each issue.

Koenig (1973) isolated six major issue dimensions through Guttman scale analysis of roll call votes recorded during a seven-year period in the United States House of Representatives. Koenig developed a typology of liberalism, conservatism and popularism on which party voting frequencies were recorded. He found limited partisan overlap which led him to conclude that the composition of the major parties consisted of distinctive ideological coalitions.

A study designed to determine if surrogate forces operated to divide representatives into opposing cohesive groups within a one-party legislature was conducted by O'Connor (1973). He reported that in the absence of a two-party legislature where party plays a dominant, divisive role, no such factors comparable to the influence of party functioned to separate legislators into opposing blocs.

Whitehill (1977) analyzed party discipline with respect to voting on education issues in the Pennsylvania State Legislature during the 1973-1974 sessions. For this particular legislature, no pattern of partisanship emerged. Roughly as many democrats or republicans supported the education measures as opposed them.

Issue Identification in Legislative Voting Analysis

Many legislative voting behavior studies have been specifically designed to identify the major issues on which legislators cast their votes; once the important issues have been identified, analyses of party voting and other factors affecting the vote can be appropriately examined. Scale and factor analysis have been used to identify issues within the context of legislative voting. MacRae (1956, p. 544) examined more complex issues by combining related roll calls into a single legislative issue. Patterson (1962, p. 186) applied scale analysis in his study of legislative leadership and later stated scale analysis was the best method of identifying underlying issues within a large number of roll call measures.

MacRae (1965) made the following comment on issue identification in legislative voting:

Voting analysis used to throw light on aspects of the legislative process can be made more intelligible by the simplification or condensation of many votes into fewer variables. Researchers interested in a particular legislative decision can thus profit by seeing whether it exemplifies a more general and repeated type of occurrence. (p. 909)

MacRae became an early proponent of using both scaling and cluster bloc analysis to identify related roll call issues and factions of legislators who tended to vote together.

Ross (1969), in a study of United States Senators' voting behavior, identified underlying issues which had the effect of generating conflict among its members. He was able to identify four reoccurring issues during the period of his study, including: presidential support, minority rights, scope of the government, and foreign aid. After identifying these issues, Ross was then able to turn his attention to groups within the senate who supported or opposed the issues. A major trend in the pattern of support was identified; that being, newly elected members supported the four issues more strongly than any other group of senators.

Stampen (1970) studied roll call votes within the Wisconsin legislature during a twenty-two-year period to identify the dominant issues contested in each session. He found that government and state operation issues were heavily contested, particularly when the republicans were in the majority. However, when the democrats gained the majority position, the issues most frequently contested shifted to education. Stampen concluded that shifts in the emphasis of different issues were best explained by the growth of the two-party system in the state.

Determinants of Legislative Voting Behavior

Researchers interested in examining legislative behavior have frequently turned their attention to the question of what influences operate on legislators to vote the way they do. The influence of party affiliation on legislative voting behavior has often been cited as the single most important determinant of voting patterns (Cherryholmes and Shapiro, 1969). Froman (1963, p. 57) felt party labels could not fully explain the impact party has on voting differences between the two groups. For Froman, the differences between the parties could be

explained by examining the differences in the party constituencies. Froman agreed that party affiliation explained most of the variance in voting, but in turn, he claimed most of the variance could be attributed to the constituency characteristics of the districts from which party members were elected.

Miller and Stokes (1963, p. 52) studied the relationships between constituency characteristics and congressmen's attitudes and roll call votes. Major contributions derived from the Miller and Stokes' study included the idea that constituency attitudes, the views of the representatives, and representatives' perceptions of constituency attitudes individually influenced roll call behavior. The authors computed the following correlations for the variables discussed above:

Constituency views and representative views, .39

Constituency views and representatives' perceptions of constituency views, .63

Constituency views and representatives' roll call voting behavior, .57

Representatives' views and their perceptions of constituency views, .66

Representatives' perceptions of constituency views and their voting behavior, .82

Representatives' views and their voting behavior, .77.

Miller and Stokes concluded that constituency characteristics were related to both the representatives' views and their voting behavior; however, representatives' views and their perceptions on where the constituency stood on issues correlated more strongly with their voting behavior.

Rieselbach (1964, p. 577) was also of the opinion that party affiliation was closely related to legislators' voting behavior; however,

he claimed party did not necessarily remain dominant over time. He cited that region and urban/rural characteristics as additional important variables which were closely associated with voting outcomes.

In a 1966 study of congressional intra-party differences in voting, evidence was found that demographic constituency factors were closely related to differences in party voting (Flinn and Wolman, 1966, pp. 196-197). Flinn and Wolman reported that demographic characteristics accounted for 29-48% of the variance in the voting behavior of rural democrats and 38-57% of the urban democrats voting patterns.

Like Rieselbach, Vanderslik (1968) found that party was the principal determinant of legislative roll call voting behavior. He reported other constituency factors which had moderate to strong correlations with voting records, to include: percent urban, foreign stock, low education, owner occupancy, and percent farmers.

Craven (1970) found party and region variables for the senate and size of home of residence for the house to be important determinants of voting behavior within the Wisconsin legislature. Hirschi (1970) conducted a study in which he correlated several independent variables with the voting records of Idaho legislators. He was able to account for 52.8% of the legislators' voting behavior. In a study of the voting records of New Mexico representatives, Easterly (1971) found party, region, and ethnicity correlated highly with representatives' voting patterns, while socio-economic and urban/rural variables had low correlations. Smith (1971) examined the voting patterns of Oregon lawmakers and reported party affiliation and other constituency variables were significant indicators of coalitions formed between conservative democrats and republicans.

In 1972, Robert and Crawford Cronin completed separate studies on voting behavior in the 1968 Mississippi legislature. The former study involved the use of demographic and political variables to explain legislators' voting records, while the latter study related areal socio-economic and educational characteristics of legislators to explain their voting behavior. Both authors concluded that the variables selected were only weakly to moderately related to the legislators' voting records. Stronger correlations between the variables and the voting outcomes were found for the senators than for the representatives.

Hayes (1972) examined Michigan state legislators' roll call votes on higher education issues involving finance. He found party affiliation and other constituency variables combined to explain 10% of the legislators' voting behavior. Hayes noted that support for higher education had increased over the past several years immediately preceding the completion of his report; this was particularly true with respect to the democrats and members in the senate in general.

The relationship between district constituencies, in terms of competition, issues, roles, and legislators' images of their constituencies, and voting behavior of Ohio state representatives was explored by Basehart (1973). Basehart utilized census figures and interview data collected from 59 Ohio representatives. Through an analysis of his results, Basehart concluded that although legislators from districts with similar characteristics display similar voting patterns, they were not wholly united in their voting efforts. Additionally, representatives who held the same image of their constituency frequently voted only slightly more cohesively than those

with dissimilar images of their constituency. Ball and Born completed separate studies in 1973, both of which dealt with the relationship between legislator voting records and state party delegations. Ball found state party delegations to be a significant variable in explaining the voting behavior in terms of agreement or disagreement with their party. Born presented evidence in this study which suggested prior literature had "exaggerated" the impact of state party delegations on member voting efforts. His analysis of covariance isolated the independent effect of voting from the effects of constituency and region variables. Once the independent effect of state party delegation was determined, the variable's impact on voting behavior was viewed as less powerful than previously reported.

The independent effect of political variables, including party affiliation, inter-party competition, and district voting participation, on the voting efforts of United States congressmen was studied by Diffenbaugh (1973). The effect, independent of socio-economic variables, was found to be only moderate. Kram (1974) conducted a similar study on one session of the United States House of Representatives. With the exception of the congressman's place of birth and religion, personal characteristics did not correlate highly with the legislators' voting behavior. Kram found that an ideological scale score, executive support, and political party affiliation were the variables which correlated most strongly with the voting records. Additionally, the correlations varied in strength depending on the issue area considered on the floor.

Markus (1974, pp. 595-602) added a new approach to the study of the role of constituency influence on voting by defining constituency

in terms of the number of persons in four demographic-constituency groups who supported the legislator from their respective district at the time of his election. These groups were selected from the following variables: percent white, percent employed in manufacturing, in agriculture, and percent urban. From the votes received from these four groups, Markus developed an electoral coalition to represent his constituency variable. He found his constituency variable correlated more highly with voting behavior than did the more traditional demographic variables. The coefficient of determination figures ranged from .39 to .56; with party affiliation added, the coefficients increased 10-20%.

Bozeman and James (1975, pp. 481-482) studied senate foreign policy voting records and factor analyzed constituency characteristics, role and military-industrial complex variables to help explain the variance in member voting behavior. As in previous studies, Bozeman and James isolated party as the single most important determinant of voting patterns. Additionally, ideology and support for the administration were determined to be important variables for explaining voting efforts.

Sarner (1975) developed a model to predict legislative voting during three sessions of the New York Senate. Although a number of predictor variables entered the regression model, only 3 to 15% of the variance in voting behavior was explained. Gilbert (1976) reported he found the distribution of the voting electorate within the districts to be significantly related to legislative voting, particularly with respect to the party loyalty variable. Pernacciano (1976) found the variables legislative leadership and presidential influence, when added

to the regression models, helped explain voting differences of representatives. Fuhrman (1977) used a survey to obtain descriptions of district political orientations and then correlated these with voting records of legislators. He found the addition of the opinion data moderately increased his understanding of the voting behaviors, but party and constituency demographic variables were still more closely related to the voting records than were the opinion variables he had developed.

Hatley and Koger (1977, pp. 22-24) related constituency variables along with legislators' attitudes toward education to the voting records of Kansas State Representatives. The variables collectively accounted for 26 to 28% of the variance in the voting behavior. The variables were found to be significantly related to two dependent variable factor scores which were labeled program development and enhancement and administrative procedures, establishment and review.

Kulinski (1977, p. 634) tested the hypothesis that the relationship between district opinion and roll call behavior was stronger in competitive electoral districts than non-competitive districts; and secondly, that the relationship between party position and voting was greater in competitive districts. Kulinski found that among party members, agreement was greater in competitive districts, but little evidence, reference the low correlation scores, existed to confirm the hypothesis that legislators were more sensitive to the opinions of their constituencies in competitive districts.

Maggiotto (1978) proposed that researchers of legislative voting behavior would learn more about the relationships between independent

variables, particularly constituency characteristics, and voting patterns if these variables were broken down into more precise units. For example, Maggiotto suggested constituency characteristics and their impact on voting would be better understood if they were reduced to latent and manifest terms. Additionally, manifest descriptions of constituency could be divided into smaller variables, to include whole and partisan constituencies, electoral coalitions, and attentive constituents. Maggiotto computed correlations and reported the division of constituency variables into subcategories was useful in isolating the impact of constituency as a whole on voting behavior. Although Maggiotto completed this process, it was reported the constituency variables did not account for a large portion of the variance in voting. Party, along with committee expertise, appeared to be more significantly related to voting.

Chapter Summary

This chapter contained a review of the literature on legislative voting behavior, emphasizing roll call analysis techniques. The review was organized in terms of surveying the nature of voting analysis, issue identification and determinants of legislative voting behavior.

The review of research provided insight into the types of studies that have been completed previously and reveal where further research would prove beneficial. Specific roll call analysis techniques employed in the present study which were referenced in the review of literature included an assessment of the influence of personal and constituency variables on legislators' voting patterns, regression and cluster block analyses.

CHAPTER III

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The Support for Higher Education Scale

The identification of bills to develop the Support for Higher Education Scale was completed by reviewing the voting issues considered by the Florida Legislature during the 1976-1979 regular sessions. The intent was to construct a Support Scale for each session, assuming at least five bills were identified which met the selection criteria.

A total of 76 bills initially met two of the selection criteria; specifically, these included (1) Each bill was categorized as a higher education related issue in the index to the Senate and House Journals, and (2) Each bill passed both houses of the legislature. The 76 bills which met these criteria represented a small portion of the education bills introduced in the legislature for formal consideration.

Few bills met the "vote split" criterion, and even fewer bills could be classified in terms of support or non-support for higher education. A summary of the bills for each of the four regular sessions measured against the selection criteria is provided in Table 1. The most important conclusion one might draw from an analysis of Table 1 is that the 1979 regular session was the only session in which at least five bills met all the selection criteria. It was therefore the only session from which a Support for Higher Education Scale (Support Score)

could be constructed and hence the only set of bills on which analyses could be implemented to respond to the central issues outlined in the problem statement.

Most of the higher education bills which passed both houses during the four sessions received near unanimous support. This was a dominant fact supported by the evidence that only 15 of the 76 bills that passed both houses met the 85-15% yea/nay vote split criterion. In other words, 80% of the higher education bills which passed both houses were essentially unanimously supported. This was particularly the case in the 1977 and 1978 regular sessions where approximately 93% of the 41 bills passed with almost complete support of the legislators.

TABLE 1
SELECTION OF BILLS FOR THE SUPPORT
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION SCALE

Regular Legislative Session	Bills Identified as Education Issue and Passed Both Houses	Bills Meeting Vote Split Criterion	Bills Meeting Final Support Scale Criterion
1976	15	4	1
1977	20	1	0
1978	21	2	1
1979	<u>20</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
Totals	76	15	8

Also, as noted in Table 1, bills which met the vote split criterion but which did not meet the final criterion were excluded from further consideration in the study. This decision was made because a Support

position label could not be assessed with confidence to either the yea or nay voting stance taken by the legislators on the issues. An illustration of this determination was evident in the Student Regent issue, which was initially entertained in the 1976 session (S 259) and again in 1978 (S 71). This particular issue exemplified why certain bills were not included in the Support for Higher Education Scale in that there were questions concerning whether such a bill could be appropriately identified as a distinct higher education issue. In general, any impact a support or non-support voting stance on the issue has on higher education might well prove to be neutral.

The six 1979 regular session bills which met all selection criteria and thus formed the basis for the development of the Support for Higher Education Scale are provided in Table 2.

Since six bills were included in the Support Scale, the range of the scale was zero (0) to six (6). On each of the six bills a yea vote cast by legislators constituted a "pro" or support position for higher education. A legislator who voted yea on each of the six bills supported higher education totally and obtained a Support Scale Score of six. Conversely, a legislator who voted nay on the six bills was assigned a Support Score of zero, thereby indicating complete non-support. (See Appendix B)

Party Index Scores

Once the Support for Higher Education Scale was developed, voting behavior was analyzed in terms of how groups of legislators stood on the Scale issues. The groups in this case were the Democratic and Republican Parties.

TABLE 2
1979 REGULAR SESSION BILLS INCLUDED IN THE
SUPPORT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION SCALE

Bill	Subject
H 730	Public Works; wages for laborers employed on public works; amends provisions relating to contracts entered into by schools, to conform to this act.
H 1604	State Government; creates Executive Office of the Governor and Administrative Commission, transfers various programs from DOA and Community Affairs to the Executive Office of the Governor, revises CH 110 regarding state personnel, provides employment policies, group insurance plan.
H 1689	Education; consolidates postsecondary education provisions, provides for the composition of the SUS, creates Board of Regents, defines State CC system, creates CC Coordinating Board, Creates Voucher system for State Tuition, provides for scholarships, financial aid, amends F.S. appropriation.
S 685	New College/University of South Florida; provides for programs to match certain private donations with state funds, requires DOA, upon request by the Board of Regents, to establish a trust fund as a depository for state fund appropriations for such programs.
S 705	State University System; authorizes Student Government Associations of each State University to establish research center for child development upon approval of the University's President, provides for a Board of Director for each center, authorizes charging of fees.
S 1156	Public Works; prohibits political subdivisions and governmental agencies from adopting any provision establishing prevailing wage rates.

Party Cohesion Scores

Mean Index of Party Cohesion scores were calculated for the Democrats and Republicans for both the Senate and the House. The scores were computed by converting yea and nay votes to percentages of the total voting membership, then taking the absolute difference between the two percentages. The results of the computations for all of the six bills are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

MEAN INDEX OF PARTY COHESION SCORES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC AND
REPUBLICAN PARTIES ON THE SIX HIGHER EDUCATION BILLS

Legislative Chamber	Party Cohesion Scores	
	Democrats	Republicans
Senate	55.8	77.3
House	59.5	66.5

An analysis of Table 3 indicates that members of the Republican Party in both the Senate and the House were more cohesive in their voting behavior than were the Democrats on the six higher education bills. Compared against their own party, Democrats were more cohesive as a group in the House. Republicans voted together on the Support Scale issues more as a group in the Senate.

Since a Cohesion Index Score of 100 means all members of a given party would have voted the same way on each of the bills, both parties in each house were divided on the positions they took with respect to the specific issues in the Support for Higher Education Scale. The Republican's Index of Cohesion Score in the Senate (77.3) was the highest

and the only true score to approach a strong level of party agreement among the six bills. The Democrats in both houses were only moderately cohesive in their voting stances on the bills. Their scores of 59.5 (House) and 55.8 (Senate) can be classified as only slightly above the average cohesion score of 50.

One would expect members within their respective parties to vote more cohesively on the issues contained in the Support Scale, particularly given the level of general support for each bill by both parties. The Cohesion Scores, not being significantly high, especially among the Democrats, indicates there was a measure of dissension among members of each party. With scores in the 50's for the Democrats, the friction among the party members approached a level where for every two Democrats that agreed on the bills, another two voted differently from each other.

Democrat and Republican Party Cohesion Scores on each of the six higher education bills, within each house, are recorded in Table 4. This particular table contains a wealth of information, most of which can be summarized in terms of the similarities and differences in the levels of cohesion between the parties and in the two houses. For some of the bills there were highly visible differences in the levels of cohesion displayed by the voting patterns of the two parties.

Republican Party Cohesion scores were higher than the scores obtained by the Democrats in terms of the overall mean party scores and with respect to cohesion levels in both the Senate and the House. Specifically, the Republican's mean Party Cohesion score on all six bills, both houses considered, was 71.9 compared to the Democrats' score of 57.7. Additionally, in the Senate, Republicans voted more

cohesively (cohesion score of 77.3) than did the Democrats (55.8). Mean Republican Cohesion scores in the House were 66.5 compared to the Democrats' 59.5.

TABLE 4
MEAN COHESION SCORES FOR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES
ON THE SIX HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPORT BILLS

Higher Education Bill	Legislative Chamber	Party Cohesion Scores	
		Democrats	Republicans
H 730	Senate	31	100
	House	34	100
H 1604	Senate	86	9
	House	95	72
H 1689	Senate	14	100
	House	68	87
S 685	Senate	100	100
	House	76	42
S 705	Senate	100	75
	House	60	4
S 1156	Senate	4	80
	House	24	94

When one compares the Democrats' Cohesion scores between the two houses on all six bills, it is apparent their Party Cohesion levels are similar on all but two of the bills, or H1689 and S 705. On H 1689, the Index of Cohesion Score of 68 indicates the Democrats voted together to a fairly large degree in the House, but in the Senate the Index Score of 14 reflects the Democrats were almost totally divided on the same issue. In the Senate, 42.9% of the Democrats voted for H 1689, while 57.1% voted against it. The same general conclusion can be drawn for S 705, considering the 40-point spread in Party Cohesion scores for the Democrats between the two chambers.

The range of Cohesion Scores for the Democrats was extremely broad; specifically, the scores were found at a low of four to a high of 100. The range in Democrats' Party Cohesion Scores between the two houses was nominal on four of the bills, particularly with respect to H 730 where the cohesion score in the Senate was 31 and 34 for the House.

The Republicans had four Party Cohesion Scores of 100, indicating on these bills they voted together as a complete bloc. With the exception of H 1604 and S 1156, Republican Party Cohesion levels were higher in the Senate than in the House. Although on the average the Republicans voted with their own party more consistently than their opposition party, the two parties had higher cohesion scores on an equal number of bills (three). Republicans voted with their party more consistently than the Democrats on bills H 730, H 1689 and S 1156, while the Democrats had higher Party Cohesion Scores on bills H 1604, S 685 and S 705. The Republicans' range of Party Cohesion Scores on the six bills was the same as the Democrats', or four to 100. Again,

this can be translated into almost complete intra-party disagreement (Index Score of 4) to total party unity (Index Score of 100).

Party Loyalty Scores

The Index of Party Loyalty Score was computed for all legislators on the basis of the percentage of times each voted with his or her party's majority. A party Loyalty Score of 100 indicated a particular legislator voted with his party's majority on each of the six bills in the Support for Higher Education Scale.

In both the Senate and the House, Republicans displayed greater loyalty to their party than did the Democrats. These findings are provided in Table 5.

TABLE 5
MEAN PARTY LOYALTY SCORES FOR THE SENATE AND HOUSE
ON THE SIX HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPORT BILLS

Party	Party Loyalty Scores	
	Senate	House
Democrats	74.6	76.1
Republicans	84.6	82.7

The mean Party Loyalty Score for the Republicans for both houses was 83.7, while it was considerably lower for the Democrats, or 75.4. The Index of Party Loyalty Scores were high for both parties, ranging from a low of 74.6 for the Democrats in the Senate to a high of 84.6 for the Senate Republicans. Twenty-seven percent of the Republicans in the Senate and a comparable 26% of the Republicans in the House had

Index of Party Loyalty scores of 100, which meant they voted with their party majority on each of the six bills. In contrast, only 10% of the Democrats in the legislature voted in support of their party majority on each of the six bills. The Democrats supported their party more frequently in the House than in the Senate. In contrast, Representatives voted their party line more frequently in the Senate compared to the House.

The potential range of individual legislator scores was 0-100, with the zero extreme indicating total party disloyalty and 100 representing total party loyalty. Actual party loyalty scores for Senators ranged from 42-100, while Representatives' scores ranged from 33-100. The range of scores for Democrats was slightly broader than the Republicans in both houses.

Party Likeness Scores

The mean Index of Likeness score for the Senate was 64.5 and 73.1 for the House. These scores were computed by determining the percentage of affirmative votes for each Party, taking the difference between these two parties' affirmative vote, and subtracting that figure from 100. These figures were fairly high when one considers an index of 100 on a given bill or series of bills indicates the Democrats and Republicans would have voted exactly alike. The 64.5 and 73.1 scores on the combined six bills provided evidence the two parties' voting positions were similar. The pattern of like voting between the two parties was stronger in the House.

There were discernible differences between the Democrats and Republicans on some of the individual bills. These differences are

reflected in Table 6. Differences between Senate and House Party Likeness scores were significant on bills H 730, H 1604 and H 1689, indicated by the respective 33, 28, and 48 point spreads between the two houses. Within the Senate, there were strong party differences on bill H 730 (Index Score of 34) and H 1689 (Index Score of 43). Only on bill S 1156 did the two parties in the House differ to any great degree on their voting behavior (Index Score of 41).

The Democrats and Republicans voted exactly alike in the Senate on bill S 685. Voting differences between the parties in the Senate on bill S 705 (Index score of 87) were also slight. This observation can be made for H 1604, H 1689 and S 685 in the House. House Bill 730 and Senate Bill 1156 were the subjects of the most heated party conflict within both chambers.

TABLE 6
MEAN INDEX OF LIKENESS SCORES FOR THE SENATE
AND HOUSE ON SIX HIGHER EDUCATION BILLS

Higher Education Bill	Mean Index of Likeness Scores	
	Senate	House
H 730	34	67
H 1604	61	89
H 1689	43	91
S 685	100	83
S 705	87	68
S 1156	62	41

Index of Agreement Scores

Index of Agreement Scores were computed through the application of a fortran program for each Senator and Representative. The computations were conducted by comparing each Senator's and Representative's vote against all other votes cast by members of their respective chamber.

Since there were six bills included in the computations, a legislator could agree with each other legislator on all six issues, on none of the issues, or any number in between. The number of times a legislator agreed with each of his or her colleagues was converted into percentage points. The process was repeated until each legislator's votes were compared against the voting positions of all other legislators.

The Index of Agreement Scores were computed for the sole purpose of determining if Senators and Representatives in their respective houses were taking common stands on the six Support for Higher Education Scale bills. The name typically associated with this review process is Cluster Bloc Analysis.

Cluster Bloc Analysis

After Index of Agreement scores were computed for each Senator and Representative, a matrix was constructed for both houses by entering each legislators' score along the vertical and horizontal axes, thereby facilitating a comparison of how similarly each legislator voted with all other members of his or her respective chamber. Only Agreement scores of 75 and higher were entered on the matrix.

The selection criteria utilized to identify blocs of legislators consisted of (1) Each member of the bloc must have had an index score

of at least 75, and (2) The bloc must have contained at least six members. Once the voting blocs were identified, an analysis was conducted to determine what characteristics the blocs' members shared. Common legislator characteristics were viewed as descriptive of the blocs rather than predictive of the voting stances taken by Senators and Representatives on the six higher education bills.

Fourteen legislator personal and constituency variables within each cluster were reviewed to identify common characteristics among the voting members. Each cluster bloc was classified according to one or more of the 14 variables when at least 70% of the members within the bloc shared the same characteristic. To illustrate, a cluster bloc composed of 10 Senators would be classified "Republican" if at least seven, or 70% were members of the Republican Party.

Descriptions of Senate Voting Blocs

Seven blocs of Senators were identified based on an analysis of the Senate matrix. Five of the blocs were composed of six members, while the remaining two had seven members. The combined voting blocs contained a total of 21 different Senators, or 53% of the entire Senate body. Three Senators appeared in five different blocs.

The voting blocs were defined by nine different legislator personal and constituency variables. These characteristics and the frequency with which each was used to classify the voting blocs are presented in Table 7.

The composition of the Senate voting blocs is included in Appendix C.

TABLE 7

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEVEN SENATE VOTING BLOCS AS DEFINED
BY LEGISLATOR PERSONAL AND CONSTITUENCY VARIABLES

Legislator Characteristics Descriptive of Senate Voting Bloc	Frequency and Percent Senate Voting Bloc Defined by Characteristic
No Education Experience	7, 100%
District Voting Participation at Similar Level	5, 71%
Democrat	3, 43%
Businessperson	2, 29%
Strong Registered Party Support	2, 29%
Holds Leadership Position	2, 29%
Represents Rural District	2, 29%
Educated in Florida	1, 14%
District Contains Both a Community and 4-Year Public College	1, 14%

As an aid to interpreting Table 7, one learns that in the case of "No Education Experience," seven of the seven Senate voting blocs (100%) can be described in terms of that particular characteristic. In other words, at least 70% (a previously defined criterion for identifying blocs) of the Senators in each of the seven blocs shared the characteristic of not having any formal experience in the field of education. The remaining eight characteristics in the table which were descriptive of the Senate voting blocs were less frequently shared by the bloc's members. The variables, "Educated in Florida" and "District Contains

Both a Community and 4-Year Public College," were only descriptive of one voting bloc, or 14% of the total seven blocs identified within the Senate.

If any generalizations could be made from the data in Table 7 regarding how one might describe the Senate voting blocs, it would be appropriate to indicate Senators who regularly voted together (at least 75% of the time) on the Higher Education Support Scale bills shared two common characteristics: They had no formal experience in the education field and represented districts in which constituency voting participation was at similar levels. Likewise, but with less certainty, the Senators voting in blocs shared seven other characteristics in varying degrees (43 to 14%).

Descriptions of the House Voting Blocs

Thirty-one voting blocs were identified in the House. The characteristics of the blocs are reported in Table 8.

The House voting blocs contained from six to 13 Representatives; 10 of the blocs were composed of seven members, hence distinguishing it as the most common voting bloc size. Sixty-seven different Representatives, or 56% of the House membership, were represented in the combined voting blocs. It was not uncommon for several members to be included in half a dozen voting blocs; three Representatives were in as many as 10 clusters. The voting blocs were defined by 12 legislator personal and constituency variables. The characteristics shared by a majority of the Representatives in the bloc were: No Education Experience (83%), Similar Net Worth (58%), and Educated in Florida (52%). The composition of the 31 blocs is given in Appendix D.

TABLE 8

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THIRTY-ONE VOTING BLOCS AS DEFINED
BY LEGISLATOR PERSONAL AND CONSTITUENCY VARIABLES

Legislator Characteristics Descriptive of House Voting Bloc	Frequency and Percent House Voting Bloc Defined by Characteristic
No Education Experience	27, 87%
Similar Net Worth	18, 58%
Educated in Florida	16, 52%
Does not Hold a Leadership Position	14, 45%
Businessperson	12, 39%
Democrat	11, 36%
District Registered Party Support at Similar Level	11, 36%
Represents Urban District	10, 32%
District Voting Participation at Similar Level	10, 32%
Newly Elected, First/Second Term	4, 13%
Represents Southern District	3, 10%
Represents Central District	3, 10%
Holds a Leadership Position	2, 7%
Represents a Rural District	2, 7%
District Contains Only a Community College	2, 7%
Republican	1, 3%
Not Educated in Florida	1, 3%

Relationship Among Support for Higher Education
Support Scale and Legislator Variables

Intercorrelations Among the Six Higher Education
Bills in the Support for Higher Education Scale

Intercorrelations among the six higher education bills selected for the development of the Support Scale were computed based on the Perarson product-moment technique. The data treatment was conducted to enable an assessment of the relationships between the Senators' votes on the six different bills included in the Higher Education Support Scale. The results of those computations for the Senate are included in Table 9.

TABLE 9

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE SUPPORT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
BILLS BASED ON SENATOR'VOTIN BEHAVIOR

Bills	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 H 730	-	-.31**	.65*	.43*	0.13	.65*
2 H 1604		-	-.29	.11	.09	-.20
3 H 1689			-	.27**	.20	.39*
4 S 685				-	-.14	.32*
5 S 705					-	-.16
6 S 1156						-

* $P < .05$, ** $P < .10$

The intercorrelations among the Senate voting patterns on the six bills ranged from a low of 109 (H 1604 and S 705) to a high of .65 (H 730 with H 1689 and S 1156). Seven of the relationships were significant, including five at the $P < .05$ and two at the $P < .10$ level. The relationships appear to be consistent based on the level of voting support each issue received from the Senators.

The intercorrelations on votes cast in the House on the six bills were generally lower than those found for the Senate. Seven of the relationships were significant at the $P < .05$ level. Similar to the Senate, the relationships among the bills were generally consistent with the level of voting support exhibited by the Representatives on each issue. The intercorrelations among the House votes on the Support for Higher Education Scale bills are reported in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE SUPPORT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
BILLS BASED ON REPRESENTATIVES' VOTING BEHAVIOR

Bills	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 H 730	-	-.17	.05	-.30*	-.27*	.71*
2 H 1604		-	-.12	-.03	.12	-.14
3 H 1689			-	.11	.23*	.04
4 S 685				-	.26*	-.43*
5 S 705					-	-.34*
6 S 1156						-

* $P < .05$

The Relationship Between Committee
and Floor Voting Behavior

Senators and Representatives who were members of committees which heard the six Support Scale bills had the opportunity to vote twice on the issues, once in the committee and then on the floor of their respective chamber. Comparisons of the legislators' votes from the committee to the floor were conducted and found to be highly consistent.

The only bill on which House members changed their votes at any significant level from the committee to the floor was on H 1689. On this particular bill seven of the 23 Representatives switched their votes from the committee to the floor; four who initially supported the bill in the committee did not on the floor vote, while three who did not support the bill in the committee did on the floor. The net change in the vote for the bill was therefore one, and the change was in the direction of non-support for the issue.

Senators' committee and floor votes were identical on three of the bills: H 730, S 705 and S 685. Similar to the voting pattern of the Representatives on H 1689, the committee-floor voting behavior among Senators was also inconsistent as five of the ten Senators switched their votes. Data relative to the committee-floor votes are presented in Table 11.

TABLE 11
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMITTEE AND FLOOR VOTES ON THE
SUPPORT SCALE BILLS FOR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Bill	Senate	House
H 730	1.00	1.00
H 1604	.82	1.00
H 1689	.50	.69
S 705	1.00	.81
S 685	1.00	.87
S 1156	.77	X

X Not heard in House Committee

Relationships Between Legislators' Voting Behavior
on the Higher Education Support Bills and Their
Personal and Constituency Characteristics

The voting behavior of legislators on the Support Scale was analyzed in terms of the relationships between votes cast on the six issues and their personal and constituency variables. Through cross-tabulation procedures previously described, mean scale scores for the Senate and the House of Representatives as a whole were compared for each personal/constituency variable across the levels or categories within each variable. Through this procedure one may ascertain which category among each personal and constituency variable had the highest mean Support for Higher Education Scale Score. For example, under the religion variable it was possible to compare the mean Scale Scores for the Catholics, Protestants, Jews and other religions to determine which religious group tended to support higher education more as measured by the voting positions recorded on the bills included in the present study.

Characterization of Senate Support Scale Scores

Based on a comparison of the mean Scale Scores among Senators with different personal and constituency group characteristics, the results, in statement form, are presented below (Mean Senate Scale Scores by legislator characteristics are reported in rank order, highest to lowest score, in Appendix E. Statements on the statistical significance of the relationships are also provided in the Appendix).

Republicans had a higher Support for Higher Education Scale Score than Democrats.

Males had a higher Scale Score than females.

Support for Higher Education increased with an increase in age.

Support for Higher Education was greater among Senators of the Catholic faith followed by Protestants, Jews and "others."

There was little difference between married and single Senators with respect to Support for Higher Education, although married Senators had a slightly higher Support Scale Score.

Although the pattern of support was inconsistent, Senators with college degrees tended to support Higher Education more than those with less education.

Although the pattern of support was inconsistent, Senators with a greater number of children tended to support Higher Education more than those with fewer children.

There was little difference in support for Higher Education between those Senators who were educated in Florida and those who were not.

There was little difference in the level of support for Higher Education between Senators with no college in their district, a community college, a four-year college or university, or both a community college and a public university; although those with only a community college in his or her district tended to have a higher Support for Higher Education Scale Score.

Senators holding a law degree tended to support Higher Education more than those in business or "other" professions, respectively.

Support for Higher Education among Senators tended to decrease with an increase in the number of organizations to which he or she belonged.

Senators with a limited record of public experience in government prior to being elected tended to support Higher Education more than did Senators with primary local, state or federal experience prior to being elected.

Non-veterans tended to support Higher Education more than Senators with military experience.

Support for Higher Education was greater among Senators who represented districts in the Northwest, followed by those from the Central part of the state, Northeast and South, respectively.

Support for Higher Education decreased with an increase in the level of electoral competition within the Senators' district.

Support for Higher Education among Senators was higher in those districts where voter participation levels in the legislator's general election were in the middle to upper range; thus, Senators representing districts where voter participation was low tended to support Higher Education less.

Support for Higher Education decreased with an increase in the amount of registered support within the Senator's district.

Senators from rural districts had a higher Support for Higher Education Scale Score than Senators from urban districts.

Support for Higher Education was greater among those Senators whose districts were classified as Republican, followed by those from "split-majority," Democrats and Solid Democrats.

Support for Higher Education decreased with an increase in the number of registered voters in the Senator's district.

Senators who held a leadership position had a slightly higher Support Scale Score compared to those who did not occupy such a position; the difference was nominal, however.

Senators' Support Scores tended to increase as the number of terms served increased.

Support for Higher Education was greater among Senators who had no experience in the field of education compared with those who had such experience.

Senators' support for Higher Education increased with an increase in his or her Party Cohesion level; that is, as his party members voted together more frequently, the level of support for Higher Education increased accordingly.

Support for Higher Education tended to be higher among those Senators whose net worth was relatively low.

Characterization of House Support Scale Scores

Representatives' mean Support for Higher Education Scale Scores were computed for each category within all personal and constituency variables. A comparison of the mean scores resulted in the following results (The Scale Scores are rank ordered in Appendix F. Data regarding the statistical significance of the relations are included in the Appendix).

Republicans had a higher Support for Higher Education Scale Score than the Democrats.

Males had a higher Scale Score than females.

Caucasians had higher Scale Scores than minorities.

Support for Higher Education among Representatives generally increased with age.

Support for Higher Education was stronger among Protestants, followed by Catholics, Jews and Representatives with "other" religious affiliations.

Single Representatives generally had a higher Support Scale Score than married Representatives.

Representatives with five or more children tended to support Higher Education more than Representatives with fewer children.

Representatives with a high school education had a higher Scale Score than those with college degrees, followed by those with professional degrees and some college. Representatives with graduate degrees had the lowest Support for Higher Education Scale Scores.

There was virtually no difference in the degree of support for Higher Education between Representatives educated in Florida's schools and those educated outside Florida.

Representatives who have no public college located within his or her district had higher Support Scale Scores compared with those who had either a community college, 4-year or university, or both in their district.

Representatives who were businesspersons had a higher Support for Higher Education Support Scale than those with law or "other" professional backgrounds.

Representatives holding membership in four to six professional associations had a higher Scale Score compared with those who belonged to fewer organizations. The lowest Scale Score was found among those Representatives who belonged to only one to three organizations.

Representatives with primarily state experience in government prior to his or her election had higher Scale Scores than those with local, federal or no experience.

Representatives who were veterans had higher Scale Scores than those who were not.

Support for Higher Education was higher in districts located in the Northwest part of the state, followed by those Representatives who served in Central, Northeast, or Southern districts, respectively.

Support for Higher Education increased with an increase in the level of electoral competition within the Representative's district.

Support for Higher Education increased with an increase in voter participation within the Representative's district.

Support for Higher Education was inconsistent with respect to the level of registered support in each Representative's district. Generally, Support for Higher Education among Representatives who served districts with lower registered support for their particular party was higher. The level of support decreased in the middle range in terms of the level of registered support for his or her party within the district, then increased again where the level of registered support began to fall.

Representatives from rural districts had a greater Support for Higher Education Scale Score than those from urban districts.

Support for Higher Education was higher among Representatives who served in districts classified as Republican, followed by Democrat, Solid Democrat and Split/No Party Majority districts.

Support for Higher Education decreased with an increase in the number of registered voters in the Representative's district.

Support for Higher Education increased with an increase in the level of Party Loyalty exhibited by the Representatives.

Representatives not holding a leadership position in the House had a somewhat higher Support Scale Score compared with those who held such a position.

Support for Higher Education increased with an increase in the number of terms the Representative served in the House.

Representatives who had no experience in the field of education had a higher Support for Higher Education Scale Score than those with formal education work experience.

Support for Higher Education increased with an increase in the level of Party Cohesion demonstrated in the House.

Representatives with a higher net worth had a higher Support Scale Score than those with a lower net worth.

An analysis of the above findings indicates that there are significant similarities between the Senators' and Representatives' support for Higher Education on the six bills contained in the Support Scale. In general, most of the Scale Scores for the Senators and Representatives on the various personal and constituency variables are at similar

levels. Among the top ten variables and corresponding mean Scale Scores for both the Senate and House, one finds that four are the same, although on two of the variables their rankings are inconsistent. Specifically, the highest Support Scale Score among Senators was found among those who represented Republican districts. This particular variable ranked sixth among Representatives. Likewise, Senators who served rural districts had the fifth highest mean Support for Higher Education Scale Score among all variables included in the study; this variable was tenth among those in the House. The "High Party Cohesion" and "Republican Party" variables were among the top ten in terms of having the highest mean Scale Scores and each generally held the same ranking on their respective House and Senate lists.

There are examples where the mean Scale Scores of particular variables were high for the Senate and yet low for the House. The reverse was also noted in the case of a few variables. To illustrate, Senators who generally had no to little public experience prior to being elected tended to have higher Support for Higher Education Scale Scores than those with primary local, state or federal experience. This was not the case for the Representatives; in fact, Representatives tended to have higher Scale Scores if they had such experience. Examples of this nature were not the rule as one may discern in the rankings for the mean Scale Scores reported in Appendixes D and E. The fact that the ranges of the mean Scale Scores for Senators and Representatives are generally equal (92-50 for the Senate and 99-57 for the House) may offer some explanation regarding why few variables appeared high on the Senator's list of mean Scale Scores and low on the House's list, or vice versa.

Regression Analysis

Through regression analysis one can account for the variance in legislators' voting behavior explained by a selected number of independent variables, in this case, personal and constituency legislator characteristics and Party Index scores. The treatment of data provided by the SPSS program contributes to the researcher's capacity to assess which independent variables and the order in which each should be entered into the regression formula. The SPSS program can order the variables automatically to maximize the impact each has in accounting for the variance in the dependent variable, or voting behavior of the legislators. This SPSS procedure was selected in the present study.

The SPSS regression package provides important data from which decisions may be based regarding which independent variables may be more effective in explaining the voting patterns of the legislators and thus may generally serve to indicate the order in which the variables should be inserted into the regression procedure. Such data provided through the SPSS program would include correlations between the dependent and independent variables, analysis of variance (ANOVA), corresponding F ratios to assess the levels of significance, and tolerance levels associated with each variable.

The analysis of variance treatment was employed to help identify the unique contribution each variable offered in explaining the voting patterns prior to entering them in the regression formula. The degree of unique information provided by each variable in the analysis is reflected in the F test. Separate ANOVA and regression procedures were conducted for the Senate and House. Analysis of Variance results are presented in Appendix G (Senate) and H (House).

The complete SPSS output for ANOVA appears as follows:

Analysis of Variance	DF	SS	MS	F
Regression	1	3953.53739	3953.53739	20.10945
Residual	38	7470.83761	196.60099	

In the above entry the calculated F value is significant at the .01 level based on one and 38 degrees of freedom. The above computations were completed for each of the independent variables which met the SPSS selection criteria.

The initial or complete model for the Senate and House consisted of a total of 53 variables, each of which were considered for inclusion in the regression equation. The SPSS program entered 38 of the Senate variables in the regression procedure; the other 15 did not contribute any additional information to explain the voting behavior and hence were excluded from further analysis. Forty-five of the 53 House variables entered the regression equation; again, the remaining variables (eight) were excluded in that their tolerance and F ratio values were insignificant.

The variables selected to enter the regression model included categories within the primary variables. For example, within the primary variable "Education Level" the SPSS program entered two of the variable's five categories in the regression model based on their meeting SPSS' selection criteria. Specifically, the "Some College" and "Graduate Degree" categories within the Education Level variable were included in the regression model, while the "College Graduate and Doctorate/Professional" categories were excluded. Procedurally, the SPSS program did not view these latter categories as significant

contributors in explaining the legislators' voting behavior. The SPSS procedure generally will not include variables that have low correlations with the dependent variable, do not meet the significance test depicted in ANOVA, and ceases to enter variables where the F and tolerance levels are insignificant for further computations.

The SPSS procedure for regression analysis in the aforementioned ANOVA treatment provides the following sample output for each variable entered in the model:

Multiple R	.58827
R Square	.34606
Adjusted R Square	.32885
Standard Error	14.02145
B	.71023
Beta	.38201
Standard Error B	4.00316
F Value	43.015
Tolerance of those variables not in the equation	.240

After the last variable is entered, the SPSS program provides a summary table which includes a list of all variables entered in the procedure and their respective Multiple R's, R Squares, R Square Changes, Simple R's, B's, and Beta weights, or partial regression coefficients. The simple R's, or the correlations of the variables included in the reduced model, are reported in Appendix I.

The results of the multiple regression analysis applied to the voting behavior of the Senators and Representatives on the six Scale

bills are reported in Tables 12 (Senate) and 13 (House). These results include the ten variables determined to be the dominant factors in explaining the variance in the legislators' voting behavior. The decision to reduce the variables to ten was based on the assessment of the F values of the variables and the tolerance levels of those variables not yet entered in the procedure. The ten variables selected to constitute the "reduced model" for the Senate and House therefore represent a logical cut off point beyond which no other variables would be included in the models. Each of the variables in the reduced models for the Senate and House was significant at the .01, .025, or .05 level.

TABLE 12
VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE REDUCED MODEL
FOR THE SENATE

Variable	Multiple R	R ²	R ² Change	Coefficient	F Value	Significance Level
Party Loyalty	.58827	.34606	.34606	.58649	109.265	.01
Southern Dist.	.73703	.74321	.19715	-.47057	64.550	.01
No Education Experience	.81748	.66828	.12507	.49697	64.428	.01
No Public Office	.85237	.72654	.05826	.27951	22.213	.01
Voter Partic- ipation	.89270	.79692	.07038	.31718	28.703	.01
College Graduate	.90591	.82068	.02376	-.16479	26.109	.01
3-4 Children	.92596	.85741	.03673	.18073	7.942	.01
Single	.93496	.87415	.01674	-.22850	13.580	.01
Served 4-5 Terms	.94849	.89964	.02549	.17414	7.666	.01
Belong to 4-6 Organizations	.95676	.91539	.01575	.13089	5.398	.05

The Coefficients of Determination (R^2) obtained for the Senate (.91359) and the House (.54951) were notably high, particularly for the Senate. The coefficients can be interpreted as the percentage of variance of the legislators' voting behavior on the six Support Scale bills accounted for by the ten variables included in the reduced model. In essence, roughly 92% of the Senators' and 55% of the Representatives' voting behavior can be explained by the ten personal, constituency, and Party Index variables in the model. The coefficients of determinations obtained for the overall Senate and House models were significant at the .01 level. One variable in the Senate (Membership in Professional Organizations) and three in the House (Urban/Rural, Registered Support, and Net Worth) had significant F values in the .025-.05 range.

TABLE 13
VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE REDUCED MODEL
FOR THE HOUSE

Variable	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 Change	Coefficient	F Value	Significance Level
Party Loyalty	.52733	.27808	.27808	.51611	59.245	.01
Protestant	.62451	.39002	.11194	.27919	9.123	.01
Rural District	.65729	.43203	.04201	.14923	3.112	.05
Registered Support	.67659	.45777	.02574	-.13583	3.157	.025
Registered Voters	.69105	.47756	.01979	-.16925	3.959	.01
Community College in District	.70407	.49572	.01816	-.15603	5.691	.01
Belongs to 1-3 Organizations	.71566	.51217	.01645	-.3363	3.760	.01
Catholic	.72538	.52617	.01400	.186t2	4.780	.01
Caucasian	.73454	.53955	.01338	.11641	2.919	.01
Net Worth	.74129	.54951	.00996	.10233	2.410	.025

The importance individual variables played in accounting for the variance in the legislators' voting behavior can be seen in the columns with the R^2 change attributed to each variable, the partial regression coefficient, F values and corresponding levels of significance. There was little overlap in terms of the Senate and House variables used to explain the variance in voting on the six bills. Party Loyalty and Membership in Professional Organizations were the only two variables which appeared in both variable lists for the Senate and House. Party Loyalty was by far the most significant variable in the regression model, accounting for 34.6% and 27.8% of the variance in voting in the Senate and House, respectively.

The relative magnitude of the coefficient values for Party Loyalty, Southern District, and No Educational Experience in the Senate indicates these offered the greatest contribution in explaining the Senators' voting behavior. The remaining seven variables also contributed significantly to understanding the voting behavior, but with a descending, less dominant impact. The same observation can be made for the House. Here, Party Loyalty, Religion and Urban/Rural variables were the principal contributors in explaining the Representatives' voting patterns on the six bills.

The importance of the first three variables contained in the Senate and House regression models can be viewed with respect to the partial regression coefficients. This is particularly the case in the Senate where the coefficients are .58649, -.47057, and .49697. These figures represent the amount of change in Senators' voting per unit change in the independent variables Party Loyalty, Southern District, and No

Educational Experience. Using the Senator's district location as an example, for every additional individual elected to the Senate from a district in the southern part of the state, support for Higher Education would increase by .47057 votes.

Likewise, Higher Education incurs an increase in voting support at the rate of .58647 votes with each unit of change in Party Loyalty exhibited by the Senators and a vote increase of .49697 with the addition of each new individual in the Senate who has not had any formal work experience in the field of education. The same examples can be illustrated in the House, although with the exception of Party Loyalty (.51611), most of the partial regression coefficients are low, or in the .27 - .10 range. Thus, unit changes in the independent variables impact less dramatically on the dependent variable in the House compared with the Senate.

Though not the specific intent of the present study, predictions of individual and group legislator voting patterns may be facilitated by inserting the data acquired through the regression analysis into the standard equation:

$$Y = C + I_1X_1 + I_2X_2 + \dots + I_{10}X_{10} + R;$$

where Y is the dependent variable (Voting position), I's are the independent variables, X's the regression coefficients, and R the residual. The Standard Error of the Estimate provided in the regression data is applied to the predicted dependent variable in terms of the error in predicting the voting behavior.

The error one incurs in predicting voting patterns of legislators may vary plus or minus the size of the Standard Error of the Estimate.

For example, a Standard Error of the Estimate of .350 indicates the average error in estimating the voting behavior from the independent variables would be $\pm .350$ points.

Estimations of individual or group behavior based on stepwise regression procedures are explanatory and speculative in nature. The B values obtained in the present study may tend to be somewhat inflated because of the number of independent values included in the analysis compared to the degree of freedom available.

Chapter Summary

This chapter contained the presentation and analysis of the data on the voting behaviors of Florida Senators and Representatives on the bills included in the Support for Higher Education Scale. Tables and cross-referenced appendices supplemented the data presentation; Narrative Analysis of the materials were also provided.

The chapter included sections on the selection of the six bills for the Support Scale, Party Index Scores (Cohesion, Loyalty and likeness), Agreement scores and related analysis of how the Legislators were clustering in identifiable voting blocs within their respective chambers. Several relationships were presented and discussed, including: The relationship between the Support Scale and Legislator characteristics; the intercorrelations among the bills included in the Support Scale; the relationship between the floor and committee votes, and a characterization of the Senate and House Support Scale votes. The chapter concluded with the presentation and discussion of ANOVA and regression analyses.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS RELATED TO RESEARCH, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings and Contemporary Research

The present research departed from previous studies in terms of overall approach and in the selection of independent variables. No one prior study included the combination of variables utilized to describe legislator's voting behavior, particularly with respect to education issues. Indices developed for the study were unique to Florida in that they reflected specific constituency characteristics of the legislators' district. No comparisons between the findings of this research and previous related research on voting behavior have been made with regard to the attitudes legislators may hold toward legislation or politics in general.

Similar to an early observation made by Keefe (1954), the present study found most of the education issues and respective legislative voting patterns to be near unanimous. In Keefe's review of bills in his roll call analysis it was found that 81% of the bills in the Pennsylvania State legislature and 69% in the House passed unanimously. This approximates the high percentage of bills considered during the 1976-1979 legislative sessions which were passed with near unanimity.

Most of the comparisons between the findings in the present and prior voting behavior studies can be summarized in terms of party

affiliations of the legislators. Among those researchers who cited party affiliation as the dominant influence on legislators' voting behavior one finds Jewell (1955), Crane (1960), Patterson (1962), Shannon (1966), Vanderslik (1968), Cherryholmes and Shapiro (1969), Stampen (1970), Cravin (1970), Hirschi (1970), Easterly (1971), Smith (1971), Kram (1974), Bozeman and James (1975) and Fuhrman (1977).

Most of the researchers who assessed the impact of party affiliation on legislators' voting behavior did so by measuring the strength of the correlation between the two variables. Few researchers utilized analysis of variance or regression analysis. Hirschi (1970) was able to combine a number of independent variables in a regression equation which accounted for 52.8% of the variance in the voting behavior among Idaho legislators. This compares favorably with the 55% of the variance in Representatives' voting behavior explained in the present study. In Hirschi's study, Party had a regression coefficient of .844 and accounted for about 5% of the variance in voting. In the present study, Party Loyalty, the related variable entered in the regression equation, had regression coefficients of .587 for the Senate and .516 for the House. Likewise, in the present study Party correlated with the legislators' voting stance at .34 (Senate) and .34 (House), which is consistent with previous findings.

In his study of Michigan State legislators' voting behavior on higher education issues, Hayes (1972) accounted for 10% of the Senators' and Representatives' variance in voting, mostly attributed to party affiliation. Markus (1974) was able to explain legislators' voting patterns with a number of constituency variables. Specifically, he

accounted for 39% to 56% of the variance in the legislators' voting behavior using the constituency variables; he was later able to explain an additional 20% of the legislators' voting when Party affiliation was added to the analysis. This raised the coefficient of determination to a respectable .59 and .76 and again approximates the figures obtained in the current study.

Depending on the particular bill, Kram (1974) reported Party correlated highly with legislators' voting positions. He further added that with the exception of the legislator's place of birth and religion, personal characteristics did not correlate highly with congressmen's voting patterns. This finding was supported by Cronins' studies of the voting behaviors of Mississippi Legislators. The Cronins could only account for approximately 20% of the legislators' voting behavior. The two combined studies included demographic, political, socio-economic, and educational variables.

These latter studies by Kram and the Cronins conflict with the findings reported by Vanderslik (1968), Froman (1963), Rieselbach (1964), Flinn and Wolman (1966), Hatley and Koger (1977), Gilbert (1976), Pernacciano (1976), and those of the present study. Whereas Kram and the Cronins, and to some extent Sarner (who accounted for only 3 to 15% of the variance in New York State Legislators over three sessions), most of the recent studies have found personal and constituency variables to be closely related to legislators' voting behavior on a wide variety of issues.

Vanderslik, Fuhrman, Froman, Miller and Stokes, Rieselbach, Flinn and Wolman all found constituency variables important in explaining

voting stands taken by legislators. Flinn and Wolman used demographic constituency factors to describe United States Congressmen's voting behavior who represented either rural or urban districts. Using the constituency variables the researchers were able to account for 27 to 57% of the variance in voting of those Representatives from urban districts. In the present study, the second and fifth most dominant variables in the Senate used to explain the Senators' voting behavior were constituency variables (District Location and Voter Participation). The remaining variables used to account for the Senate's voting behavior were primarily personal characteristics with the exception of Party Loyalty, a party index score. Four of the 10 variables used to describe voting behavior in the House were constituency variable; five were personal characteristics attributed to the Representatives and the final variable was the Party Loyalty Index.

The findings of the present study were mostly consistent with those reported by Vanderslik (1968), Rieselbach (1964), and Pernacciano (1976) regarding the respective variables of education level, leadership positions held in the legislature, and urban/rural district classification. Specifically, Vanderslik found moderate to strong correlations between legislators with lower level educations and their voting positions. This was consistent with the present study with respect to the House where representatives in the Florida Legislature had higher Support for Higher Education Scale Scores than those with greater educational achievements. This was not true for Florida's Senators.

Rieselbach (1964) reported the urban/rural characteristic was important in explaining legislators' voting behavior. This finding was

supported by the current study in both the Florida House and Senate. Pernacciano's (1976) conclusion that Leadership Position was significant in explaining voting behavior could not be verified in the present study; it was found here that Leadership Position correlated at a very low level ($-.02$ for the Senate and $.02$ for the House) with Florida legislators' voting patterns on the six Support for Higher Education Scale bills. In the Senate, those holding leadership positions tended to support higher education slightly more than those who did not hold such positions, while the reverse was true in the House. Ross (1969) conducted a study in which he found that the number of terms of service completed by the legislator was an important factor in accounting for the way representatives voted on a given series of issues. He reported that newly elected members supported issues more than legislators who had served more terms in their respective body. This latter finding was not supported by the current study, although Terms of Service as an independent variable in the voting analysis was found to be significantly related to the legislators' voting behavior. In general, Support for Higher Education in the Florida House and Senate was found to be higher among those legislators who served relatively more terms in their respective chambers compared with members who were serving their first or second terms.

Keefe (1954), Jewell (1955) and Crane (1960) each reported Party Cohesion varied from issue to issue. This finding was supported in the present study, evidence to the fact that Party Cohesion scores were higher for some of the six Scale bills, and lower on others. Republicans had higher Cohesion scores than the Democrats, both in the House

and Senate. This finding for the Florida legislature was not consistent with Jewell's report that Democrats had a higher Party Cohesion Score. The differences may be explained in terms of the political make-up of the eight different legislatures he reviewed compared to that found in Florida, and also in the nature and significance of the issues included in each separate study. Whitehill's study of Pennsylvania State Legislators' voting on education issues is more consistent with the finding of the current study. On many of the issues included in his review he found the two parties voted similarly; in essence, support for higher education in Whitehill's study and this researcher's analysis was found to be generally high for both parties, varying slightly depending on the specific bill under review.

The final common thread between the related research and the present study is found in Maggiotto's conclusion that one should look carefully at the correlations between the subcategories of the major independent variables and voting behavior exhibited by the legislators. He reported such an analysis generally would enhance the researchers' ability to explain legislators' voting stances on important legislation. This observation was proven accurate in the present study as correlations were assessed for each subcategory within each principal independent variable. By doing so, it was possible to isolate the impact each variable level had on legislators' voting behavior.

Summary

Development of the Support for Higher Education Scale

Seventy-six bills in the 1976-1979 legislative sessions met two of the selection criteria for inclusion in the Support for Higher Education Scale, but only in the 1979 session did a minimum of five bills meet all criteria, including the important latter characteristics of an 85-15 percent vote split and the classification of the bills into "Support/non-support" categories. In the 1979 session, six bills met each of the required criteria and thus formed the basis of the Support for Higher Education Scale on which most of the analysis of the present study was conducted. The six bills which met the criteria were: H 730, H 1604, H 1689, S 685, S 705, and S 1156. The Scale Scores ranged from 0 to 6 with a yea vote constituting support for Higher Education on each bill. A Scale Score of 0 indicated total non-support for Higher Education as measured by those issues included in the Scale; conversely, a Scale Score of 6 obtained by a Senator or Representative indicated total support for Higher Education.

Party Cohesion

Party Cohesion scores, representing a measure of dissention among members of each party, were computed for the Democrats and Republicans for both houses of the Florida Legislature. Cohesion scores were found to be higher for the Republicans than for the Democrats; this was the case for both houses and the difference between the two parties' scores were more pronounced in the Senate.

Republicans in the Senate had a party cohesion score of 77.3 compared to 55.8 for the Democrats. In the House, Republicans also had a higher cohesion score than Democrats, or 66.5 to 59.5. Among their own group, Republicans were more cohesive in their support for Higher Education in the Senate (77.3) than in the House (55.8). The reverse was true for the Democrats; that is, Democrats as a group voted more cohesively in the House (59.5) than in the Senate (55.8).

The mean Party Cohesion score for the Republicans for both houses combined was higher (71.9) than that obtained by the Democrats (57.7). Since a Party Cohesion score of 100 indicates a given party voted unanimously in favor (or perhaps against) an issue or series of bills, it is evident that the Republicans, with a mean Cohesion score of 71.9, were much more united in their voting behavior on the Support for Higher Education Scale bills than the Democrats who obtained a lower mean cohesion score (57.7).

Both parties in each house were divided among their respective memberships on the positions taken with respect to the specific bills contained in the Support Scale. On some of the bills in the Support Scale there were highly visible differences in the levels of party cohesion displayed by the voting patterns of the two opposing parties. When one compares the Democrats' party cohesion levels between the two houses it is clear the extent to which they voted together as a group was similar on all but two of the six bills, the exceptions being H 1689 and S 705. Republican cohesion levels between the two houses were at similar levels on three bills (H 730, H 1689 and S 1156) and dissimilar on the remaining three bills (H 1604, S 685 and S 705).

The range of Party Cohesion scores for the two parties was extremely broad. The scores ranged from a low of four to a high of 100 for both parties. Republicans had perfect Party Cohesion scores of 100 (all voted the same position) four different times, while the Democrats had cohesion scores of 100 on two different bills. Republicans voted as a solid bloc on H 730; in contrast, Democrats were heavily divided on the issue in both houses (Scale Scores of 31 in the Senate and 34 in the House). The differences in party unity displayed by the two parties on H 730 are significant as evidenced by the more than 60-point spread between the Democrats and Republican scores. Perhaps the greatest differences between the two parties in terms of contrasting levels of party unity can be found in the Senate vote on bill H 1689 and S 1156. Democrats in the Senate were almost totally divided as indicated by their cohesion score of 14. In contrast, on the same bill the Republicans in the Senate were united in their vote as they had a cohesion score of a solid 100. Democrats in the Senate displayed their lowest level of party cohesion (Scale Score of four) on S 1156, while the Republicans were once again highly united in their support for the bill (Cohesion Score of 80).

Party Loyalty

The Republicans displayed greater loyalty to their party than did the Democrats. This was the case in both houses of the Florida Legislature. Republicans in the Senate had a Party Loyalty score of 84.6 compared to the Democrats' score of 74.6. Republican Party Loyalty scores in the House (82.7) were somewhat lower than those achieved in

the Senate, yet still higher than the Democrats' Party Loyalty score of 76.1 in the House. The mean Republican Party Loyalty score for the combined houses was 83.7. The mean score for the Democrats for both houses was 75.4. These scores on the six Support for Higher Education Scale bills are fairly high, indicating that for both parties roughly two-thirds of the party members are voting their partyline.

The Democrats supported their party more frequently in the House, while the Republicans voted with their party majority more frequently in the Senate. The range of Party Loyalty scores on the six bills was broader in the House (33-100) than in the Senate (42-100).

Index of Likeness Scores

The mean Index of Likeness scores for the Senate and the House were 64.5 for the Senate and 73.1 for the House. This finding indicates the two parties' voting positions in both houses on the Support for Higher Education bills were quite similar. Differences between the two parties in the Senate and House were significant on H 730, H 1604, and H 1689 reference the 33, 28 and 48-point spread in the scores between the two chambers. In general, like party voting by the Democrats and Republicans varied depending on the issue under consideration and within each house. The Democrats and the Republicans voted exactly alike on one bill in the Senate (S 685).

Index of Agreement

An Index of Agreement score was computed for each Senator and Representative. The Agreement score represents the extent to which each legislator agreed with all other members of his or her respective

chamber. Although an individual Index of Agreement score could range from 0 to 100, only legislator Agreement scores of 75 or higher were placed in a matrix from which the researcher could assess the extent to which Senators and Representatives voted as blocs. The Agreement scores were calculated to initiate the analysis of legislator voting blocs, hence no specific findings are reported on the index scores of individual Senators or Representatives.

Cluster Bloc Analysis

The matrix described previously facilitated the identification of Senators and Representatives who voted in agreement at least 75% of the time with their respective house members on the six scale bills. Seven voting blocs were identified in the Senate and 31 in the House. The Senate voting blocs contained from six to seven members each. The combined blocs consisted of 21 different Senators, or 53% of the total Senate body. Three Senators appeared in five different voting blocs. The Senate voting blocs were defined by nine legislator characteristics, including five personal and four constituency independent variables. The two most common characteristics used to define the Senate voting blocs included "No Education Experience" (employed to characterize all seven blocs) and "District Voting Participation at a Similar Level" (used to characterize five of the seven blocs).

The aforementioned 31 voting blocs identified in the House contained from six to 13 members. The average size of the House blocs was seven. Sixty-seven different Representatives or 56 percent of the total House membership were represented in the combined voting blocs. It was common for some Representatives to appear in as many as

seven different cluster blocs. The House voting blocs were defined by 12 different legislator characteristics, including seven personal and five constituency variables. The characteristics most descriptive of the House blocs were: "No Education Experience" (found in 27, or 87% of the blocs); "Similar Net Worth" (characterized by 18 blocs); "Educated in Florida" (found in 16 blocs); and "No Leadership Position" (characterized by Representatives in 14 blocs). These were followed by Businessperson, Democrat, Registered Party Support at a Similar Level, Urban District, and District Voting Participation at a Similar Level. These latter characteristics were shared by Representatives in 10 to 12 voting blocs.

Intercorrelations Between the Votes on the Six Support Bills

Intercorrelations of the six bills included in the Support for Higher Education Scale were computed and found to be low to moderate, ranging from .09 to .65. The highest correlations found in the Senate were between H 730 and H 1689 (.65), S 1156 (.65), S 685 (.43) and H 1604 (-.31). Seven of the fifteen relationships were significant at the .05 level.

Intercorrelations between the voting on the bills in the House were also found to be low to moderate, with relationships ranging from -.03 to .71. Similar to the Senate, seven of the fifteen relationships were significant at the .05 level. The pattern of the correlations between the votes on the six bills appears to be consistent based on the level of voting support each issue received from the legislators.

Relationship Between the Committee and Floor Votes on the Six Support Bills

The correlations between committee and floor voting behavior of Senators and Representatives on the six Support for Higher Education Scale bills ranged from 1.00 to .50. Generally, the committee to floor votes were highly consistent. On three of the bills Senators' committee and floor votes were identical. This was the case with House voting patterns on two bills.

Five of the ten Senators changed their votes from the committee to the floor on H 1689. The five Senators that altered their vote on this particular bill changed the votes from "nay" in the committee to "yea" on the floor. On the same bill in the House, seven Representatives of the 23 in the committee changed their votes from those cast on the floor. Four of the Representatives who voted for the bill in the committee changed their votes to "nay" on the floor, while three who did not support the bill in the committee did so on the floor. Hence, the net change in terms of votes cast was one less vote in support of the bill.

The Relationship Between Legislators' Scale Scores and Their Personal and Constituency Characteristics

The correlations between the legislators' Support for Higher Education Scale scores and their personal and constituency characteristics were found to be moderate to low for both the Senate and the House. For the Senate the correlations ranged from a high of .59 (Party Loyalty) to a low of .01 (Net Worth). Eight of the ten primary variable relationships with the Senators' voting records were significant

at the .05 level. These included relationships between the Senators' scale scores and Party, District Location, Registered Support for the Senators in their Districts, Urban/Rural, Party Loyalty, Terms of Service, Education Experience, and Party Cohesion.

The correlations for the House ranged from .53 (Party Loyalty) to a low of .01 (Number of Children, Educated in Florida, Colleges in the Representative's District, Occupation, District Electoral Competition, and District Classification in terms of party support). Each of the ten primary variable relationships with the Representatives' voting patterns on the bills were significant at the .01 to .05 level. These included Party, Religion, the Number of Professional Organizations to which the Representative belongs, District Location, Registered Voting Support, Urban/Rural, Registered Voters, Party Loyalty, Party Cohesion, and Net Worth of the Representative.

Regression Analysis: Identifying the Determinants of Legislators' Voting Behavior on the Six Support Bills

Regression analysis and the preceding analysis of variance were employed to help explain the legislators' voting behavior on the six bills included in the Support for Higher Education Scale. Fifty-three variables, which includes subcategories within the primary variables, were entered into the initial regression analysis. The final regression model was reduced to ten variables procedurally ascertained to be the best determinants or predictors of the legislators' voting behavior.

Through the analysis a Coefficient of Determination (R^2) was obtained for both the Senate and the House. The R^2 for the Senate was .91359, while the R^2 for the House was .5491. These are notably high,

particularly for the Senate. The R^2 represents the percentage of variance in the legislators' voting behavior on the six Support bills accounted for by the ten variables included in the regression model. In this case, roughly 91% of the Senators' and 55% of the Representatives' voting behavior can be explained by the 10 personal and constituency variables in the final model.

Party Loyalty, Religion and the Urban/Rural characteristics were the principal variables contributing to the explanation of the Representatives' voting patterns. Party Loyalty, Southern District Location, and Education Experience proved to be the most important variables accounting for the Senators' voting behavior.

There was little overlap in terms of the variables included in the Senate and House models used to explain the legislators' voting behavior. Only two variables appeared on both lists of those included in the models for the Senate and House: Party Loyalty and Membership in Professional Organizations. The other eight variables in the respective Senate and House models included different personal and constituency legislator characteristics.

Party Loyalty was by far the most significant variable identified to explain the voting behavior of legislators in the Florida House and Senate. Approximately 34.6 % of the Senators' and 27.8% of the Representatives' variance in voting behavior can be explained by the Party Loyalty variable. The first three variables entered into the regression equation for the Senate, Party Loyalty, Southern District Location, and No Education Experience, had partial regression coefficients of .58649, -.47057, and .49697, respectively. These coefficients

represent the amount of change one might expect to take place in Senators' voting behavior per unit change in each of the three independent variables.

The partial regression coefficients for the House were lower than those found in the Senate model. The Party Loyalty coefficient was again high (.51611); however, the remaining coefficients declined to lower values, ranging from .27 to -.10. Since the coefficients were lower in the House, one would expect unit changes in the independent variables would have a lesser impact on the voting positions taken by the Representatives.

The constants and beta weights obtained for the Senate and House regression models represent the acquisition of data from which predictions of Senators' and Representatives' future voting behavior may be made.

Profile of the Senator Most Likely to Support Higher Education

By comparing the mean Support for Higher Education Scale Scores among each independent variable for the Senate it was possible to draw a profile of the type of Senator who would be most supportive of Higher Education based on prior voting positions. This particular Senator would be:

Republican, male, older in age (46+), Catholic, may be married or single, has relatively more children (4-5), has a college degree, may or may not have been educated in Florida schools, most likely has a community college in his or her district, is a member of the legal profession, belongs to relatively few professional organizations, has had a limited amount of governmental experience prior to election, has had no military experience, represents a district in the northwest portion of the state, represents a district with lower electoral competition,

represents a district in which voter participation is moderate to strong, represents a district in which the level of registered support for his or her particular party is relatively low, represents a rural district, represents a Republican district, represents a district in which the level of registered voters is relatively low, holds a leadership position, has served a large number of terms, has had no experience in the field of education, his or her party affiliation has a high level of Party Cohesion, and generally has a lower net worth than his or her colleagues.

Profile of the Representative Most Likely
to Support Higher Education

The Representative determined to be most supportive of Higher Education by the voting record assessed in the present study would be:

Republican, male, white, older in age (46+), Protestant, single, has five or more children, is a high school graduate, may or may not be educated in Florida schools, does not have a public college located in his or her district, is a businessperson by profession, belongs to 4-6 professional organizations, has primarily state government experience prior to being elected, is a veteran, represents a district in the northwest portion of the state, represents a district in which electoral competition is high, represents a district in which voter participation is high, may or may not represent a district where registered support for his or her party is high, represents a rural district, represents a Republican district, represents a district with a lower number of registered voters, belongs to a party with high Party Loyalty, does not hold a leadership position in the House, had had no formal experience in the field of education, belongs to a party with high Party Cohesion, and has a higher personal net worth than his colleagues.

The profiles drawn for the Senator and Representative who would most likely support higher education based on the data obtained through the current study are different in several areas. The principal difference between the two profiles are found in the following variables: Religion, Marital Status, Education Level, Occupation, Membership in Professional Organizations, Prior Public Government Experience, Military Experience, Electoral Competition in the District, Leadership Position held in the Legislature, and Net Worth.

Specifically, Senators who were Catholic, married, college educated, lawyers, had limited public government experience prior to their election, were non-veterans, held a leadership position in the Senate and generally had a low net worth tended to support higher education more than Senators with contrasting qualities. Conversely, Representatives who were Protestant, single, had a high school education, a businessperson, had primary state public government experience prior to election, a veteran, did not hold a leadership position and generally had a high net worth tended to support higher education. Also, in contrast to their Senate counterparts, Representatives' support for higher education tended to increase with an increase in the number of organizations in which they belong and also increase with an increase in the electoral competition within their districts.

The profiles of the Senators and Representatives who would most likely support higher education also differed from the profile of the general Senate and House member. Being Republican, Catholic, a lawyer, non-veteran, representing a rural district, Republican district, having generally a low net worth, served a greater number of terms, representing a district in the northwest portion of the state, parent of four to five children, having only a community college in the district, holding membership in few professional organizations and having possessed limited public government experience prior to election are characteristics of the Senator who would most likely support higher education which are in direct contrast to the profile of the typical member of the Florida Senate.

The differences between the profile of the Representative who would most likely support higher education and the typical House member are less pronounced than those found for the Senate. The profile of the typical Representative in the House includes the following characteristics: Democrat, between 31-45 years of age, married, has one to two children, a college graduate, primary public government experience prior to election was on the state level, non-veteran, represents a Southern, urban district and a district classified as Democratic. This description contradicts the profile of the type of Representative who would most likely support higher education; this latter individual would be Republican, over 45 years of age, single, have primary public government experience prior to election at the local level, is a veteran, and represents a rural, Republican district in the Northwest portion of the state.

The findings related to the questions included in the problem statement are summarized below:

Question 1: Are there differences in support for higher education between the two political parties? Between legislators with different personal and constituency variables?

The answers to the above are positive; Republicans supported the education bills included in the Higher Education Scale more than the Democrats. Likewise, it was reported in Chapter III under the headings, "Characterization of Senate and House Support Scale Scores," that support for higher education varies among the Legislators and that the Legislators possess different personal and constituency characteristics. These different Legislator characteristics and corresponding difference in levels of support for higher education exist and were so identified.

Question 2: How cohesive are the two parties in their voting behavior on higher education issues?

Cohesion scores were found to be higher for the Republicans compared to the Democrats. This was true in both houses. The Republicans were highly cohesive in their voting behavior (71.9 mean Party Cohesive score), while the Democrats were moderately cohesive (57.7).

Question 3: How does the legislators' voting behavior on higher education issues relate to intra- and inter-group differences?

It has been noted previously on one of the intra-party measures, Party Cohesion, that Republicans voted together on the higher education issues more as a group than the Democrats. It was not surprising to find, therefore, that the Republicans also displayed greater party loyalty than their opposition party. Again, this was the case in both houses. On the measure of inter-group similarity, the Index of Likeness, it was determined on the whole that the two parties voted quite similar in both chambers; however, differences between the two parties in their support for three of the bills included in the Higher Education Support Scale were significant.

Question 4: What is the relationship between floor and committee voting behavior on the same selected legislation?

The committee to floor votes were found to be highly consistent.

Question 5: Is it possible to identify groups of Legislators within each house which regularly vote together? If so, how might these groups be characterized?

Using Cluster Bloc Analysis it was possible to identify seven voting blocs in the Senate and 31 in the House. The Senate voting blocs were described in terms of nine different Legislator personal and constituency characteristics, while the House blocs were characterized by 12 different Legislator variables.

Question 6: How much variance in Legislative voting behavior can be explained by the Legislators' personal, constituency and group characteristics?

Approximately 91% of the Senators' and 55% of the Representatives' voting behavior on the Higher Education Support bills can be explained by the 10 variables included in the study's reduced regression model.

Question 7: Can a profile of the type of Legislator who would be most supportive of higher education be drawn from the roll call data?

The answer to the above question is "Yes"--as provided in the preceding narrative. It has also been illustrated to what extent the profile of the Senator and Representative most likely to support Higher Education differs from one another and from the typical member of the Senate and House.

Recommendations for Future Research

Researchers interested in studying the voting behavior of legislators have the opportunity to replicate the present analysis or expand the review techniques to generate new data to heighten the understanding of critical observers of the legislative process. The following recommendations for future study are offered to readers interested in broadening the voting analysis techniques used in the present research:

1. Trend analysis - One might consider reviewing a series of legislative sessions to assess any trends that might exist in terms of the legislators voting patterns on education issues.
2. Expansion of bills considered in the analysis - Researchers may want to include more bills in his or her review. This might require a loosening of the criteria used to select the issues to be included in the analysis. The number of bills included in the study might be expanded by broadening the categories of education used in the analysis; i.e., higher education, secondary, elementary and special topics in education.

3. Expansion of the independent variables used in the study - The number and variety of characteristics used as independent variables in the study might be broadened in an effort to more effectively explain legislative voting behavior. Independent variables of an attitudinal nature, opinions of the legislators or his/her constituency toward issues, would include one research possibility that might be explored.
4. Factor analysis - Researchers might consider employing factor analysis to verify that selected bills represent a common dimension, be it higher education, secondary, or perhaps some other issue. Factor analysis might also be used to identify hidden dimensions which may be related to legislators' voting behavior.
5. Guttman Scale analysis - One might consider conducting Guttman Scale analysis to develop scales which in turn could be used as either secondary dependent variables or additional independent variables to explain legislators' voting behavior.
6. Prediction of actual voting behavior - Researchers may want to select a number of independent variables, develop a regression model and predict legislators' voting patterns. The predicted voting records could then be compared with votes actually cast to test the effectiveness of the regression equation. One would then be in a position to establish reliability and validity data on the prediction process. Such data would serve as a base from which further analyses could be implemented to assess which combinations of variables offer the maximum explanation of how the Senators and Representatives vote on education issues.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO URBAN/RURAL VARIABLE

House <u>Urban Districts</u>	
<u>District Number</u>	<u>District Name</u>
1, 2, 3	Part of Escambia
16-24	Part of Duval
33	Parts of Orange, Seminole
37	Parts of Pasco, Pinellas
38-43	Part of Orange
44-47	Parts of Brevard, Orange, Seminole
48	Indian River, parts of Brevard, Okeechobee, Osceola, St. Lucie
49-52	Parts of Highland, Osceola, Polk
53-61	Part of Pinellas
62-65	Parts of Hillsborough, Polk
66-70	Part of Hillsborough
71-72	Hardee, parts of Manatee, Sarasota
73-74	Parts of Charlotte, Manatee, Sarasota
75	Desoto, parts of Charlotte, Highlands, Sarasota
76	Parts of Martin, St. Lucie
77	Parts of Martin, Okeechobee, Palm Beach

Appendix A (Continued)

<u>District Number</u>	<u>District Name</u>
78-83	Parts of Broward, Palm Beach
84-88	Part of Broward
90-91	Parts of Charlotte, Hendry, Lee
92-97	Parts of Broward, Dade
98-119	Part of Dade
120	Monroe, part of Dade
House <u>Rural Districts</u>	
4, 5, 6	Parts of Escambia, Santa Rosa, Walton
7	Holmes, parts of Jackson, Walton, Washington
8	Parts of Bay, Walton, Washington
9	Calhoun, Gulf, parts of Bay, Gadsden, Jackson, Liberty
10	Franklin, parts of Gadsden, Jefferson, Liberty, Taylor, Wakulla
11, 12	Leon, parts of Jefferson, Madison, Wakulla
13	Columbia, Hamilton, parts of Madison, Suwannee
14	Citrus, Dixie, Gilchrist, Lafayette, Levy, parts of Hernando, Marion, Suwannee, Taylor
15	Baker, Nassau, parts of Duval, Union
25	Bradford, Clay, part of St. Johns
26,27	Alachua, parts of Marion, Putnam, Union
28	Parts of Flagler, Putnam, St. Johns
29-31	Volusia, part of Flagler

Appendix A (Continued)

<u>District Number</u>	<u>District Name</u>
32	Parts of Lake, Marion
34	Parts of Lake, Marion, Seminole
35	Parts of Lake, Marion, Sumter
36	Parts of Hernando, Pasco, Polk, Sumter
89	Collier, Glades, parts of Hendry, Highlands, Lee

Senate
Urban Districts

7-9	Duval
14-15	Orange
16-17	Seminole, Osceola, Brevard
18-20	Pinellas
21-23	Hillsborough
25	Sarasota, Charlotte
26-28	Palm Beach, Martin, Hendry, Lee, St. Lucie, Indian River
29-31	Broward, Collier
32	Parts of Broward, Dade
33-34	Parts of Broward, Dade
35-37	Dade
38-40	Dade, Monroe

Appendix A (Continued)

<u>District Number</u>	<u>District Name</u>
	<u>Senate</u> <u>Rural Districts</u>
1-2	Escambia, Santa Rosa, Okaloosa, part of Walton
3-4	Holmes, Washington, Jackson, Calhoun, Gulf, Liberty, Franklin, Gadsden, Wakulla, Leon, Madison, parts of Walton, Taylor
5-6	Hamilton, Suwannee, Lafayette, Dixie, Columbia, Gilchrist, Levy, Nassau, Baker, Union, Bradford, Alachua, Marion, Putnam, Clay, part of Taylor
10	Flagler, Volusia
11	Lake, St. Johns, Sumter, parts of Clay, Putnam
12-13	Polk, Pasco, Hernando, Citrus
24	Manatee, Hardee, De Soto, Glades Highlands, Okeechobee

APPENDIX B

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATORS' SCORES* ON SUPPORT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION SCALE

<u>Scale Score</u>	<u>Senators (#,%) Acquiring Score</u>		<u>Representatives (#,%) Acquiring Score</u>	
100	7,	17.5%	17,	14.2%
92	4,	10.0%	6,	5.0%
83	12,	30.0%	34,	28.3%
75	3,	7.5%	12,	10.0%
67	5,	12.5%	34,	28.3%
58	1,	2.5%	3,	2.5%
50	8,	20.0%	9,	7.5%
42	0,	0%	3,	2.5%
33	0,	0%	2,	1.7%
25 or less	0,	0%	0,	0%
N = 40, 100%		N = 120, 100%		
\bar{x} = 76.88**		\bar{x} = 75.43**		

*Scores reported in standard form, converted from percentiles of Pro votes to total votes cast on the Support for Higher Education Scale.

** 76.88 mean score for the Senators represents 4.61 Pro votes of the total six possible Pro votes on the Scale Bills;
75.88 mean score for the Representatives indicates 4.53 positive or Pro votes of the total six possible votes were cast.

APPENDIX C

COMPOSITION OF SENATE VOTING BLOCS (Legislative Characteristics Shared by Bloc Members)

<u>Cluster Bloc Number</u>	<u>Senators in Bloc</u>	<u>Legislator Characteristics Descriptive of Cluster Blocs</u>
1	6	Party, Occupation, No Education Experience, Registered Support
2	7	Educated in Florida, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Leadership Position
3	6	Voter Participation, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience
4	6	Party, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Leadership Position, Colleges Located in District
5	6	Voter Participation, No Education Experience
6	7	Party, Occupation, Voter Participation, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Registered Support
7	6	No Education Experience

APPENDIX D

COMPOSITION OF HOUSE VOTING BLOCS (Legislator Characteristics Shared by Bloc Members)

<u>Cluster Bloc Number</u>	<u>Representatives in Bloc</u>	<u>Legislator Characteristics Descriptive of Cluster Blocs</u>
1	7	Party, Educated in Florida, Urban/Rural District Classification, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Registered Support
2	8	Educated in Florida, Occupation, New Worth
3	8	Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Net Worth
4	8	Educated in Florida, No Education Experience, Net Worth
5	8	Party, No Education Experience, Registered Support
6	11	Registered Support, Leadership Position, Party, Educated in Florida, Occupation, No Education Experience, New Worth
7	6	Educated in Florida, District Location, Urban/Rural, Registered Support
8	7	Educated in Florida, Occupation, District Location, Voter Participation, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Colleges Located in District
9	9	Party, Occupation, Leadership Position
10	13	Party, District Location, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Registered Support
11	7	Party, District Location, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Registered Support, Leadership Position

Appendix D (Continued)

<u>Cluster Bloc Number</u>	<u>Representatives in Bloc</u>	<u>Legislator Characteristics Descriptive of Cluster Blocs</u>
12	8	Party, Occupation, District Location, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Registered Support
13	13	No Education Experience, Net Worth
14	6	Educated in Florida, Net Worth
15	7	Educated in Florida, Occupation, Voter Participation
16	7	Party, Voter Participation, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position
17	11	No Education Experience, New Worth Terms of Service
18	7	Occupation, District Location, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position
19	7	Educated in Florida, Occupation, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position
20	10	Educated in Florida, Occupation, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position, Terms of Service
21	10	Educated in Florida, Occupation, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position, Colleges Located in District
22	9	Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position
23	7	Party, Educated in Florida, Occupation, No Education Experience, Registered Support, Leadership Position
24	7	Party, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Registered Support, Leadership Position

Appendix D (Continued)

<u>Cluster Bloc Number</u>	<u>Representatives in Bloc</u>	<u>Legislator Characteristics Descriptive of Cluster Blocs</u>
25	6	Party, Educated in Florida, Occupation, No Education Experience, Registered Support, Leadership Position
26	10	Party, Occupation, No Education Experience, Registered Support, Leadership Position
27	12	Educated in Florida, No Education Expe- rience, Net Worth
28	7	Educated in Florida, Voter Participation, Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Leadership Position
29	6	Educated in Florida, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Leadership Position
30	6	Educated in Florida, Voter Participation, No Education Experience, Net Worth, Leadership Position, Terms of Service
31	6	Urban/Rural, No Education Experience, Net Worth

APPENDIX E

RANK ORDER OF SENATE SCALE SCORES BY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
1. Republican District	92.0
2. Northwestern District	91.5 *
3. Party Loyalty at 92-99 Level	90.3 *
4. No Public Experience Prior to Election	89.6
5. Rural District	89.1 *
6. 5 or more Children	87.8
7. Served 6 or more Terms	87.5
8. 4-5 Terms Served	86.3 *
9. Party Cohesion Level at 77	86.1 *
10. Republican	86.1 *
11. Registered Support at the 15-39 Level	85.8 *
12. Lawyer	84.4
13. Catholic	82.9
14. Central District	82.9 *
15. Split Majority District	81.0
16. 1-3 Organizational Memberships	81.0
17. 1-2 Children	80.3
18. Registered Voter Level at 104-179	80.1
19. College Graduate	79.7
20. No Educational Experience	79.6 *

Appendix E (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
21. 46-59 Years of Age	79.3
22. Doctorate/Professional Degree	79.3
23. Voter Participation at the 55-59 Level	79.0 *
24. Registered Support at the 45-68 Level	78.9 *
25. District Competition at the 1-32 Level	78.4
26. Non-Veteran	78.1
27. Community College Located in the District	78.1
28. Businessperson	77.9
29. Voter Participation at the 60-65 Level	77.8 *
30. Net Worth of less than 91	77.7
31. Not Educated in Florida	77.5
32. Democratic District	77.4
33. Male	77.4
34. Married	77.3
35. Protestant	77.2
36. Holds Leadership Position	77.1
37. State Experience Prior to Election	77.1
38. 4-6 Organizational Memberships	76.9 *
39. Northeastern District	76.6 *
40. Educated in Florida	76.5
41. Holds No Leadership Position	76.5
42. Veteran	76.5
43. 7 or more Organizational Memberships	76.2
44. 2-3 Terms Served	75.7
45. Solid Democratic District	75.4

Appendix E (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
46. District Competition at the 34-62 Level	73.7
47. Party Cohesion at the 56 Level	73.4 *
48. Democrat	73.4 *
49. 31-45 Years of Age	73.4
50. Local Experience Prior to Election	73.4
51. Party Loyalty at the 67-83 Level	73.2 *
52. Registered Voters at the 308-414 Level	72.8
53. Net Worth of 102 or Greater	72.2
54. Urban	72.2 *
55. Single	72.0 *
56. 0-1 Terms Served	71.8
57. Party Loyalty at the 42-58 Level	71.6 *
58. 3-4 Children	71.4
59. District Competition at the 98 or Higher Level	71.1
60. Some College	69.8 *
61. Registered Support at the 69 or Higher Level	69.4 *
62. Southern District	69.4 *
63. Female	66.5
64. Has Educational Experience	64.1
65. No Children	63.3
66. Voter Participation at the 48-53 Level	62.5 *
67. Other Profession	61.0
68. Graduate Degree	61.0
69. Jewish	55.7
70. Federal Experience Prior to Election	50.0

*Mean Scale Scores reported in percentiles/standard scores, converted from raw Scale Scores; Significant at $P < .05$ Level.

APPENDIX E

MEAN SENATE HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPORT (Scale Scores by Personal and Constituency Variables)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
Party	Republican (86.1), Democrat (73.4)
Sex	Male (77.4), Female (66.5)
Race	Not Applicable
Religion	Catholic (82.9), Protestant (77.2), Jewish (55.7), Other (92)
Marital Status	Married (77.3), Single (72)
Children	5 or more (87.8), 1-2 (80.3), 3-4 (71.4), None (63.7)
Educational Level	College Graduate (79.7), Doctorate/Professional (79.4), Some College (69.8), Graduate Degree (61)
Educated in Florida	No (77.5), Yes (76.5)
Colleges Located in District	Community College (78.1), Community College and Four-Year College (76.5)
Profession	Law (84.4), Business (77.9), Other (61)
Organizational Memberships	1-3 (81), 4-6 (76.9), 7 or more (76.2)
Public Service Experience Prior to Election	None (89.6), State (77.1), Local (73.4), Federal (50)
Veteran	No (78.1), Yes (76.4)
District Location	Northwest (91.5), Central (82.9), Northeast (76.6), South (69.4)
District Competition	1-32 (78.4), 34-62 (73.7), 98 or higher (71.1)

Appendix E (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
Voter Participation	55-59 (79), 60-65 (77.8), 48-54 (62.5)
Registered Support	15-39 (85.8), 45-68 (78.9), 69 or higher (69.4)
Urban/Rural	Rural (89.1), Urban (72.2)
District Classification	Republican (92), Split Majority (81), Democrat (77.4), Solid Democrat (75.4)
Registered Voters	104-179 (80.1), 198-258 (77.7), 308-414 (72.8)
Party Loyalty	92-99 (90.3), 67-83 (73.2), 42-58 (71.6)
Leadership Position	Yes (77.1), No (76.5)
Term of Service	6 or more terms (87.5), 4-5 (86.3), 2-3 (75.7), 0-1 (71.8)
Educational Experience	No (79.6), Yes (64.1)
Party Cohesion	77 (86.1), 56 (73.4)
Net Worth	Less than 91 (77.7), 102 or more (72.2)
Age	46-59 (79.3), 31-45 (73.4), 30 or less (83)

APPENDIX F

RANK ORDER OF HOUSE SCALE SCORES BY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
1. Net Worth at 274 Level	99.0 *
2. Net Worth at 102-171 Level	88.3 *
3. Net Worth at 64-101 Level	85.7 *
4. High School Graduate	84.8
5. No College in District	84.1
6. Republican District	83.0
7. Registered Support at 18-44 Level	83.0 *
8. Republican Party	81.7
9. Party Cohesion at 67 Level	81.7 *
10. Rural District	81.4 *
11. Party Loyalty at 83-99 Level	80.9 *
12. Voter Participation at 63-72 Level	80.6
13. Northwest District	79.8 *
14. Registered Voters at 28-108 Level	79.7 *
15. Five or More Children	79.4
16. Central District	79.3
17. Northeast District	78.4 *
18. Protestant	78.3 *
19. 6 or More Terms	78.0
20. Businessperson	77.8
21. State Government Experience Prior to Election	77.7

Appendix F (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
22. College Graduate	77.5
23. 4-6 Organizational Memberships	77.2 *
24. Community + 4-Year College in District	77.0
25. 4-5 Terms Service	76.5
26. Single	76.4
27. Veteran	76.4
28. 7 or More Organizational Memberships	76.3 *
29. No Education Experience	76.2
30. Registered Voters at 108-188 Level	76.2 *
31. 1-2 Children	76.1
32. District Electoral Competition at 99 Level	76.0
33. Male	76.0
34. Catholic	76.0 *
35. District Electoral Competition at 32-60 Level	75.9
36. Caucasian	75.8 *
37. 46-60 Years of Age	75.8
38. Over 60 Years of Age	75.8
39. No Children	75.8
40. Holds No Leadership Position	75.7
41. 2-3 Terms Service	75.7
42. Net Worth at 1-30 Level	75.6 *
43. Married	75.6
44. Educated in Florida	75.6
45. Democratic District	75.5

Appendix F (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
46. 31-45 Years of Age	75.4
47. Not Educated in Florida	75.1
48. Solid Democratic District	75.1
49. Holds Leadership Position	75.0
50. Voter Participation at 53-62 Level	74.8
51. Split Majority District	74.8
52. District Electoral Competition at 1-30 Level	74.6
53. Non-Veteran	74.3
54. Local Government Experience Prior to Election	74.2
55. Less Than 30 Years of Age	74.1
56. 0-1 Terms Service	74.1
57. Registered Support at 73-92 Level	74.1 *
58. Doctorate/Professional Degree	74.0
59. Some College	73.9
60. Voter Participation at 42-52 Level	73.8
61. Urban District	73.5 *
62. 3-4 Children	73.4
63. Party Cohesion at 60 Level	73.2 *
64. Democratic Party	73.2 *
65. Lawyer	72.8
66. Registered Support at 45-69 Level	72.8 *
67. Other Profession	72.5
68. Community College in District	72.2 *
69. Has Education Experience	71.8

Appendix F (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
70. Female	71.7
71. Southern District	70.4
72. Party Loyalty at 58-75 Level	70.4 *
73. Net Worth at 31-61 Level	69.5 *
74. Registered Voters at 190-266 Level	68.8 *
75. Graduate Degree	69.9
76. No Public Government Experience Prior to Election	67.0
77. 4 Year College in District	67.0
78. 1-3 Organizational Memberships	65.4 *
79. Minority	74.8
80. Jewish	74.2 *
81. Other Religion	62.0 *
82. Other Marital Status	58.5
83. Party Loyalty at 35-50 Level	57.8 *

Mean Scale Scores reported in percentiles/standard scores, converted from raw Scale Scores.

* Significant at $P < .05$ Level.

APPENDIX F

MEAN HOUSE HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPORT

(Scale Scores by Personal and Constituency Variables)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
Party	Republican (81.7), Democrat (73.2)
Sex	Male (76), Female (71.7)
Race	Caucasian (75.8), Black (64.8)
Religion	Protestant (78.3), Catholic (76), Jewish (64.2), Other (62)
Marital Status	Single (76.4), Married (75.6), Other (58.5)
Children	5 or more (79.4), 1-2 (76.1), None (75.8), 3-4 (73.4)
Educational Level	High School Graduate (84.8), College Graduate (77.5), Doctorate/Professional (74), Some College (73.9), Graduate Degree (67.9)
Educated in Florida	Yes (75.6), No (75.1)
Colleges Located in District	None (84.1), Community College and Four-year College (77), Community College (72.2), Four-Year College (67)
Profession	Business (77.8), Law (72.8), Other (72.5)
Organizational Memberships	4-6 (77.2), 7 or more (76.3), 1-3 (65.4)
Public Service Experience Prior to Election	State (77.7), Local (74.2), None (67)
Veteran	Yes (76.4), No (74.3)
District Competition	99 (76), 32-60 (75.9), 1-30 (74.6)

Appendix F (Continued)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
District Location	Northwest (79.8), Central (79.3), Northeast (78.4), South (70.4)
Voter Participation	63-72 (80.6), 53-62 (74.8), 42-52 (73.8)
Registered Support	18-44 (83), 72-96 (74.1), 45-69 (72.8)
Urban/Rural	Rural (81.4), Urban (73.5)
District Classification	Republican (83), Democrat (75.5), Solid Democrat (75.1), Split Majority (74.8)
Registered Voters	28-108 (79.7), 108-188 (76.2), 190-266 (68.8)
Party Loyalty	83-99 (80.9), 58-75 (70.4), 33-50 (57.8)
Leadership Position	No (75.7), Yes (75)
Term of Service	6 or more (78), 4-5 (76.5), 2-3 (75.7), 0-1 (74.1)
Educational Experience	No (76.2), Yes (71.8)
Party Cohesion	67 (80.7), 60 (73.2)
Net Worth	274 or higher (99), 102-71 (88.3), 64-101 (85.7), 1-30 (75.6), 31-61 (69.5)
Age	60 or higher (75.8), 46-59 (75.8), 31-45 (75.4), 30 or less (74.1)

APPENDIX G

SENATE ANOVA RESULTS FOR VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE REDUCED MODEL

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Party Loyalty	1	3953.5	20.11	.01
Southern District	1	3102.9	22.00	.01
No Education Experience	1	2544.9	24.17	.01
No Public Organizational Memberships	1	2075.1	23.25	.01
Voter Participation	1	1820.9	26.68	.01
Some College Education	1	1562.6	25.17	.01
3-4 Children	1	1399.3	27.49	.01
Single	1	1248.3	26.91	.01
4-5 Terms of Service	1	1141.9	29.88	.01
4-6 Organizational Memberships	1	1045.8	31.37	.01

R = .95676

R² = .91539

se = 5.77341

APPENDIX H

HOUSE ANOVA RESULTS FOR VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE REDUCED MODEL

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Party Loyalty	1	8104.2	45.45	.01
Protestant	1	5683.2	37.40	.01
Rural District	1	4196.9	29.41	.01
Registered Support	1	3335.2	24.27	.01
Registered Voters	1	2783.5	20.84	.01
Community College in District	1	2407.8	18.51	.01
1-3 Organizational Memberships	1	2132.3	16.80	.01
Catholic	1	1916.8	15.41	.01
Caucasian	1	1747.2	14.32	.01
Net Worth	1	1601.5	13.30	.01

R = .74129

R² = .54951

se = 10.97480

APPENDIX I

BETWEEN PRINCIPAL SENATE CORRELATIONS INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Correlation with Scale Score</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Party	.34	.01 *
Sex	-.14	.19
Race	NA	NA
Age	.13	.21
Religion	-.08	.30
Marital Status	.21	.09
Children	.13	.20
Educational Level	.08	.31
Educated in Florida	.03	.42
Colleges in District	-.06	.36
Occupation	-.18	.13
Membership in Professional Organizations	-.07	.32
Public Office Experience Prior to Election	-.22	.08
Military Experience	.05	.38
District Location	.38	.01 *
District Competition	-.06	.34
Voter Participation	.14	.19
Registered Support	-.34	.01*
Urban/Rural	.45	.002 *
District Classification	.06	.34
Registered Voters	-.10	.26
Leadership Position	-.02	.46
Party Loyalty	.59	.000 *
Party Likeness	NA	NA
Terms of Service	.31	.02 *
Education Experience	.35	.01 *
Party Cohesion	.34	.01 *
Net Worth	.01	.48

* Meets Specified $P < .05$ Significance Level.

Appendix I (Continued)

HOUSE CORRELATIONS
BETWEEN PRINCIPAL INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Correlation with Scale Score</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Party	.24	.004 *
Sex	-.09	.16
Race	-.13	.08
Age	.02	.40
Religion	-.36	.000 *
Marital Status	-.07	.22
Children	-.01	.45
Educational Level	.10	.14
Educated in Florida	-.01	.43
Colleges in District	-.01	.46
Occupation	.01	.45
Membership in Professional Organizations	.14	.05 *
Public Office Experience Prior to Election	.12	.10
Military Experience	-.06	.23
District Location	.23	.01 *
District Competition	-.01	.47
Voter Participation	.10	.13
Registered Support	-.19	-.01 *
Urban/Rural	.22	.01 *
District Classificatio	.01	.44
Registered Voters	-.25	.003 *
Leadership Position	.02	.40
Party Loyalty	.53	.000 *
Party Likeness	NA	NA
Terms of Service	.07	.22
Education Experience	.11	.12
Party Cohesion	.24	.004 *
Net Worth	.18	.02 *

*Meets Specified $P < .05$ Significance Level.

Appendix I (Continued)

CORRELATIONS (SIMPLE R) BETWEEN THE DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT
VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE REDUCED REGRESSION MODELFor the Senate

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Correlation with Dependent Variable</u>
Party Loyalty	.59
Southern District	-.40
No Education Experience	.35
No Public Organizational Memberships	.29
Voter Participation	.14
Some College Education	-.16
3-4 Children	-.24
Single	-.26
4-5 Terms Service	.26
4-6 Organizational Memberships	.00

For the House

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Correlation with Dependent Variable</u>
Party Loyalty	.53
Protestant	.29
Rural District	.22
Registered Support	-.19
Registered Voters	-.25
Community College in District	-.21
1-3 Organizational Memberships	-.21
Catholic	.01
Caucasian	.13
Net Worth	.18

All Relationships Significant at $P < .05$ or Lower.

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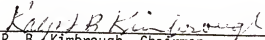
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dennis Stark Hansen was born in Bethesda, Maryland, to a Navy family. He traveled extensively in both the United States and overseas, obtaining an education in a wide variety of school systems. He settled in Florida where he attended and earned degrees from Pensacola Junior College (AA) and the University of West Florida (BA) with honors. His studies were interrupted by the draft and eventual service in Vietnam as a North Vietnamese linguist with Army Intelligence. While in Vietnam he was invited to teach classes bilingually at Truong Quoc Hoc, Vietnam's National Institute in Hue. Following his discharge, he returned to the University of West Florida on a Fellowship. He earned an MA degree in political science and an M.Ed. degree, the latter while conducting research for the University. Subsequently he served as a civilian education officer with the Department of Defense in Jacksonville. During his tenure in Jacksonville he pursued studies at the University of Florida and taught part-time at local colleges. In the fall of 1979 he joined the Regional Office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Denver as its Program Analyst. At HUD he is involved in developing training and plans to continue teaching at local colleges.

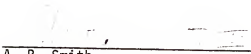
Dennis Hansen's wife, Joyce, is an accountant who has a MBA degree from the University of North Florida.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.




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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.



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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision in the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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